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MOSLEMS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN CHINA

by Mohammed Sa'id Isma'il
and Mohammed Aziz Ismail

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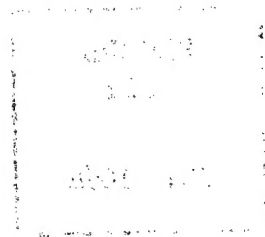
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FOREWORD

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Translator's Note: This book is identical to the book on the Moslems in the Soviet Union and Peoples' China in all respects except the few pages translated above.

MOSLEMS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN CHINA

[Following is a translation of a pamphlet Al-Mouslimoun Fi-al-ittihad Al Sovietti Wal Sin Ash-sha'biyya, by Mohammed Sa'id Isma'il, a specialist in Russian and Chinese affairs. This pamphlet was published as Vol. I, in 1960 (Hejira 1380) in Tehran, Iran.]

COME WITH ME TO SIBERIA

This is not a book. It is rather a journalistic report. My aim is not to convince you of anything but to accompany you on a delightful journey. You have learned of many things, and you have undoubtedly learned of Siberia. But you haven't heard of Almas Selji. Do you know who Almas Selji was? He was the man who, calling himself Ja'far ben Abdallah, introduced Islam into Siberia. Let me introduce you to him, and let me introduce you to other important things. I shall introduce you to the Siberian people themselves. The name Siberia is a Russian corruption of "Sabri."

Siberia was at one time a part of the "Altin Urdu" state which was established around the Volga basin by Bato Khan, the son of Genghis Khan. It was the center of power of the Bala-Kondi dynasty. After that this old Moslem country, rich in furs and diamonds, became the place of exile of those who incurred the wrath of the Tsars and after them of the Communist Party.

When the Russians invaded Siberia they had to fight for 65 years to subdue its people. The King of Siberia then, Kojan Sultan, refused to surrender although his army was on the verge of collapse saying: "I cannot accept the life of a prisoner or the death of the defeated. I am not grieved by the loss of my property and wealth, but by the fate of those who will be living under Russian slavery."

The Russians failed to occupy the country until after its ruler and his son Sultan Ali were both killed in combat.

You will learn how Ivan III made use of the Crusades to suppress the Moslem state in Siberia which had lent great support to Salahuddin in his battles.

You will discover on this journey the marks of the battle to suppress the Arabic language and the Moslem religion. You will discover on the faces of these Moslems many characteristics of a people resisting the liquidation of their religion although they are ignorant of its language. We shall not stay long in Siberia, for we have to visit other countries such as Turkestan, Caucasia, Idal, Ural, and Crimea.

Our journey into the five Moslem nations of Eastern Europe will prove how the Moslems there resisted the Crusaders just as their brethren in the Near East did. You will find that these nations are still struggling to preserve their religion and may be regarded as a strong force in the body of Islam and as a ray of hope. It is a long story of sweat, struggle, and blood. Let us, dear reader, begin with Turkestan.

A PARADISE ON EARTH

We are told in the Foutouh al-Islam (Conquests of Islam) that when the Arabs entered Samarkand and Bokhara (the capital cities of Turkestan)¹ they found the natural beauty of the country such that they described it as God's paradise on earth.

Turkestan is a large country so richly endowed with the beauties of nature and the legacy of history that it would be difficult to describe. Turkestan was in prehistoric times a land of culture and prosperity. Excavations have revealed and historians agree that long before civilization appeared in any other part of the ancient world, the people of Turkestan had developed an advanced culture with an organized government, good armies, and management at a high level of skill and technology persisting over thousands of years.

This early civilization was created by the favorable climate of Turkestan which was characterized by a temperate summer and not too severe winter. Grazing lands were abundant and vegetation was had during all seasons of the year. Rich mineral resources and industrial materials were discovered which bestowed on the people a high standard of living by comparison with neighbouring nations. All this prosperity induced a cultural and scientific movement which made Turkestan a showplace of the ancient world. No wonder the Arab invaders called it a paradise on earth.

THE REMNANTS OF ARABISM IN TURKESTAN

Ever since the Khagan Stong Boghara espoused Islam [Note: Through the teachings of the learned Turkestani Abual-Nasr al Samani in Hejira 232] and his sons the Khagans Mousa Boghara, Houran Boughara and his grandson Khagan Youssef Kader Khan declared their allegiance to the Omayyad Caliphs, Turkestan assumed an Arab character, and the Arabic language became the vehicle of culture and the means of literary expression. Gradually the masses showed preference for the Arabic language until all documents came to be

Note: The Moslems conquered Turkestan during the reign of Abdul Malek ben Murwan in the Hejira year 86 under the Arab general Qotaiba ben Moslem al-Bahiby.

written in Arabic including petitions, land titles, and court decisions. The courts in fact gave first preference to Arabic over the language of Turkestan and the Orghony script. It is therefore not unusual to find that some of the prominent figures of Arab culture and science and some who dominated art, linguistics and rhetoric in the Moslem world as well as the leaders in all branches of Moslem theology, philosophy, astronomy, geography, mathematics, and geometry were from Turkestan. We need only mention in this connection al-Bokhary, Jar Allah Al-Zamakhshari, Youssel al-Sakaki, Ali ben Abi Bakr al Mirghayani, al Jourgani, Sa'ad ed-Din al-Tartanazi, Sadid ed-Din Kashaghri, Abi al-Barakat Abdallah ben Ahmad al Nasfi, Abi al-Mansour al-Matridy, Abi Bakr al Khawarizmi, Abi Zayd al-Balkhi (Mohammed, Ahmad and al Hasan), the most famous mathematicians of the Abbasid era. Each of these was prominent in Islamic history as representing one branch of science, art or literature. They were not the only leaders of Turkestan but there were many more. All Arabs, no matter how humble, were treated with great dignity and honor in Turkestan as if they were princes or holy men. The Khagans chased the non-Moslem tribes out of Turkestan and the ancestors of Genghis Khan took refuge in Mongolia after they were defeated in many battles. When Genghis Khan and his successors extended their rule, they fought Islam and the Arabic language everywhere. Under these attacks the Arabic language was weakened even though the Mongols had espoused Islam. Arabic, however, remained even under Tamerlane the lingua franca of the Mongol Empire, used in art and Islamic literature and engraved on all coins minted in Samarkand, Bokhara, and Kashghar. This situation persisted until it was changed by the imperialists as we shall show below. [Note: Turkestan also produced Mahmoud al Kashghari, Al-Hakim aboul Nasr al-Farabi, Avicenna, and Khabed Ibn Abdul Malek the curator of the observatory of Al-Ma-moun in Baghdad.]

GLIMPSES OF THE HISTORY OF TURKESTAN

The population of Turkestan exceeds 40 million people. Turkestan remained an independent state until it was conquered by the Moslems after which it became a part of the Moslem world and a center of Islamic culture.

Turkestan was also a shield of the Moslem world against the Crusaders' invasions. For instance the Azbakiyya Gardens in Cairo were the headquarters of the Turkestani troops which came to relieve Egypt from the Crusaders' invasion, likewise the Azbak, Katakhdah, and Ibn Toulon mosques in Cairo all are clear evidence of the extent of the cooperation that existed then between the people of Turkestan and the other Islamic nations in repelling the attacks of the aggressors. Turkestan was then fighting on two fronts: Western Europe in the Arab East and Russia and China in North West Asia.

After three hundred years of warfare, the West realized that Turkestan was the actual storehouse which was providing the Arabs with volunteers and materials to defeat the crusaders, and they decided to turn their attention to Turkestan itself to destroy this power. An alliance of all the Christian powers of Europe headed by Germany, France, Sweden, and the Baltic states supported Russia in its aggression against Turkestan and its four sister nations.

The temporary defeat of the Crusades interrupted the aggression of Europe and this situation was prolonged by the rise of the Sublime Porte. But finally the West destroyed the Turkish Empire and occupied the Arab East under a different guise. The same fate befell the Far East where the breaking up of the unity of Islam enabled the Crusaders to isolate Turkestan and then partition it and divide the spoils amongst them. Let us now digress to describe the geography, strategic importance and climate of Turkestan.

THE AREA OF TURKESTAN

Turkestan is bounded by the Caspian Sea to the West, the Chinese Wall to the East, Siberia and Mongolia to the North, and Iran, Afghanistan and India to the South. Lying thus in the heart of Asia, its total area is 5,580,418 square kilometers which is greater than the combined areas of Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

This location at the crossroads of many countries in Asia has given Turkestan a strategic position lying across the main commercial routes connecting China with Persia, the Arab lands and the Roman Empire. The climate of Turkestan is mild except in the northern mountainous regions which receive heavy rains and are covered by snow during many months of each year.

TURKESTAN AND IMPERIALISM

Russia began the invasion of Turkestan in 1735 and was in complete control of the country only when it occupied the last stronghold in 1892. China had already by 1881 occupied the eastern regions of Turkestan. Thus ended the long wars which started at the time of the Crusades. Turkestan did not submit easily to its conquerors, and important uprisings have occurred in both parts. But since 1881 East and West Turkestan have followed separate paths. Let us start with East Turkestan.

EAST TURKESTAN

East Turkestan has an area of 1,824,418 square kilometers and a population of 8 million people including a Chinese Manchurian minority of 220,000 people. It also includes 90,000 Chinese Moslems and 70,000 Mongolians.

THE ECONOMIC FEATURES OF TURKESTAN

East Turkestan is predominantly agricultural. The main crops are wheat, barley, beans, other food grains, cotton, vegetables and the widely known fruits some of which are rare. In this respect, Turkestan is a self-sustaining economy which is also rich in livestock. It is perhaps somewhat astonishing to learn that the livestock population of the country is estimated at 17 million heads. The country is a food surplus area.

Handicrafts are the mainstay of the industries and these include silk works, tapestries, cotton ginning, tanneries, etc. The exports of East Turkestan are cotton, wool, hides, livestock, dried fruits, silk, carpets, and others and the main clients are India, Pakistan, China, and Russia. Imports are mainly machinery, sugar, tea, pharmaceutical products and dies.

[Map Showing East Turkestan]

MINERAL RESOURCES

The mineral wealth of Turkestan was the main target of the invaders. The following are the main minerals of East Turkestan which have remained largely unexploited over many years.

<u>Mineral</u>	<u>No. of Mines</u>	<u>Mineral</u>	<u>No. of Mines</u>
Gold	25	Petroleum	24
Silver	16	Coal	70
Iron	46	Phosphorous	13
Chrome	2	Uranium	2
Lead	32	Sodium	63
		Quicksilver	

There are in addition reserves of copper, platinum, and zinc in large quantities. This wealth excited the greed of the Chinese who after long wars succeeded in annexing East Turkestan to their territory in 1881, and the land which was the meeting place of the Indian, Chinese, Persian, Arab, and Roman civilizations during 2,000 years became a province of China known as Sinkiang or the New Land.

But Turkestan was not a new land. It was a shining civilization when China itself was nothing but jungles and wild herds. This annexation did not subdue the love of freedom among the people of Turkestan.

For a while China established its rule in East Turkestan, but the Russians who had just completed invading West Turkestan were pressing hard against the borders of East Turkestan, and China, in order to protect its new acquisition against Communist aggression had to close its borders against West Turkestan and interrupt all trade relations between the two divisions of Turkestan.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY

East Turkestan benefitted from this interruption in trade with Soviet Russia by working toward a self-sufficient economy which was possible in view of the agricultural and industrial wealth of the country.

The Russians were, however, still casting a greedy look over East Turkestan, and they decided to adopt new tactics of non-violence. They intimated to the governors of West Turkestan to enter into trade negotiations with the governor of East Turkestan "Yan Sen Chen" with a view to concluding a trade agreement between the two provinces. But the latter, who was appointed by the Chinese was cautious and he turned down the offer.

THE ATTEMPT REPEATED

In a short while Russia repeated the offer in a different manner proposing to enter into a new trade agreement which would supersede the agreement concluded between Tsarist Russia and China giving the former extensive concessions in East Turkestan. It also offered to guarantee non-interference in the religious life of Turkestan and not to support Communist propaganda in the province. After some hesitation, the agreement was accepted and concluded, and the Russians were thus able to resume active trade relations with East Turkestan which were centered around the town of Ili. But this was also used as a center of conspiracy against the people of East Turkestan.

ECONOMIC PENETRATION

The Russians were not satisfied with this agreement but were actually working to penetrate into the economic and political life of East Turkestan in order to bring it under Russian influence. They violated the trade pact by also interfering in the political life of the country to an extent that the Governor Yan Shen Chen

had some reservations on dealing with the Russians. But rather than accept defeat, the Russians resorted to new techniques. They directed all their trading efforts to the province of Kashgar where they began to purchase such raw materials as wool, hides, livestock, silk and cereals at prices well above world prices and pay for the same in gold, thereby attracting most of the trade into the province of Kashgar. Then suddenly the Russians stopped buying any goods in East Turkestan and announced that unless the government of East Turkestan agreed to a revision of the trade pact between East Turkestan and the Soviet Union to permit a greater flow of goods and unless the Soviet Union was allowed to establish consulates in East Turkestan, the Russians would refuse to purchase more goods.

THE MERCHANTS FALL INTO THE TRAP

Unawares, the merchants of East Turkestan fell in the trap prepared for their country by the Russians and forced their bankruptcy - threatened government to conclude a new agreement with the Soviet Union. In 1924 the Russians succeeded in attaining their first target by establishing five consulates in East Turkestan in Altay, Chouchak, Ili, Kashgar and Urumci. These consulates opened theatres, libraries and other means of Soviet propaganda, and communist publications became easily accessible. The consulates were supplied with a horde of experts who were studying the economy of the country to lay out plans to liquidate its industries and local production by dumping Russian goods.

[Portrait of Yan Sen Chen the Chinese Governor General
of East Turkestan]

RECOVERING EXPENSES

To recover the gold which they had previously paid to the people of Turkestan, the Russians raised the price of gold thus inducing the people of Turkestan to exchange their gold coins for rupees. Then without warning, the old Tsarist rupees were cancelled and a new currency was issued, thus the people of Turkestan suffered tremendous losses and were faced with a crisis resulting in the bankruptcy of a large number of merchants who dealt with the Russians in good faith. In 1928 Yan Sen Chen was assassinated and Jin Shorin assumed the powers of the Governor General; he was previously director of Internal Affairs in East Turkestan.

TURKESTAN REVOLTS

Russian penetration had very unfavorable economic effects, and the people of Turkestan began to realize that the conclusion of unfavorable agreements with the Russians by their governor was the cause of these difficulties. Russia and China were partners responsible together for the damage, decline, poverty, and famines that had befallen Turkestan. The people of Turkestan accepted with reluctance all these difficulties, but when the Chinese government initiated a campaign to erase Islam from Turkestan they roused the resentment and wrath of the people.

Towards the end of 1930, the Chinese occupation governor in the province of Qomol, the province bordering on China mainland, which was then occupied by Chinese forces, began to enforce the policy of Sun Yat Sen the founder of the Chinese Republic by issuing an order to all police headquarters to arrest any Moslem who refused to give his daughter in marriage to any Chinese proposing marriage.

China also opened wide the gates of immigration into East Turkestan as a deliberate step to create Chinese majorities in these outlying provinces. Thousands of Chinese were moved en masse into Turkestan, and the people of Turkestan were forced to give their daughters in marriage under the threat of prison and torture. The Chinese were provided with capital enabling them to become large landowners.

This dark invasion was aggravated by the Chinese military ruler who demanded that the Emir of Turkestan give him his daughter in marriage as if to create an example for the people and to deliberately insult the Emir.

Naturally, the request was refused and the Emir was thrown in jail to await trial and execution as was their practice. But the Emir resorted to a stratagem. He informed the military ruler that if he were released, he could perhaps convince the religious leaders to bless the marriage and thus put an end to the crisis. The military governor was confident that with the threat of prison and execution, the religious leaders could not dare but sanction the marriage, and he ordered the release of the Emir. Thereupon, the Emir gathered the religious leaders in his palace to discuss the course of action that might be taken to defend their honor and religion. They finally decided to pretend accepting the proposal and preparing for the marriage festivals at the Emir's palace. At the same time the Emir gathered in his palace some sturdy fighters who were disguised as servants. On the day of the marriage ceremonies when the military ruler and his top aides were all in the Emir's palace, they were taken by surprise and massacred to the last man. This gave heart to the Moslems and revenged their religion from the criminals.

After this extreme revolutionary measure, it was necessary to deliberate carefully regarding the consequences. The leaders of Turkestan met in the Emir's palace to discuss the next step. Most of those present were pessimistic about the prospects of 8 million people facing 400 million non-believing Chinese. But there was a wise old man who, after listening to everyone, rose and said: "I have heard you speak of 400 million Chinese as if you are a delegation representing China not a group of Moslem commandos. If you measure armies by their number, and had the early Moslems acted the way you do now, Islam would never have spread. Have you not read the proverb 'many a small group have defeated large armies with the help of the Almighty.' In order to force our enemies to respect our religion, we Moslems must take the Qur'an as our guide in this and the other world. No enemy can suppress us or enslave us if we are faithful to our religion and our Holy Book. I promise that I shall never lay down my arms until I gain revenge for my religion and country and whoever is a true Moslem shall follow me."

Their spirit fortified by this appeal, those present then proceeded to the barracks where they took possession of the Chinese weapons and consecrated themselves to struggle and Jihad. Thus began the revolution of 1931 which was later called the revolt of Khoja Niyaz Haji. In one week, Turkestan was purged of all Chinese elements. An offer for help was made by Russia through Mongolia which sent a delegation to Khoja Niyaz Haji headed by Jam Sen Darghan. The delegation was received by Niyaz in Qomol who turned the offer down for fear of Russian penetration. The Russians then turned against the rebels by aiding their enemy Jin Shorin with arms and they succeeded in defeating the rebel forces.

EVERYTHING HAS A PRICE

But Jin was unable to suppress the revolt and he agreed to enter into a new agreement with the Russians on October 1, 1931 against the delivery of arms and supplies. Among the main provisions of the agreement was one permitting the Russians to open commercial agencies and another giving to Russians the right of free movement throughout Turkestan. The local authorities were deprived of the right to search Russian goods at the border thus opening the way for the Russians to smuggle large quantities of armaments to their agents inside the country, who were preparing for Russian participation in ruling Turkestan. The Russians made full use of their influence over Jin and of their commercial agencies to spread propaganda throughout Turkestan and incite class struggle among its people. Jin was able to defeat Niyaz who had taken to the mountains.

THE REVOLT OF 1932

But under Jin recurrent revolts against his dictatorial system shook Turkestan. In 1932 the people rose with the help of the Soviet government in an attempt to gain their freedom.

THE REVOLT SUCCEEDS

The revolt succeeded and a nationalist government was established at Kashgar on November 12, 1932.

[Photograph of the Heroic Army of the Moslem Republic of East Turkestan who fought both the Red and Chinese Armies.]

Niyaz became President of the Republic and Mawlana Thabit became Prime Minister. [Note: Mawlana Thabit was living in Egypt in 1932, from where he was called by his friend Mohammed Amir Boghara, member of the Revolution Council, to assume the Premiership of East Turkestan.] The new government immediately laid siege to Urumchi. The Governor again asked for Russian aid and agreed to pay the price in the form of a new agreement dictated by Moscow.

But the Russians soon discovered that Jin did not intend to keep his promises unless the agreement was approved by the Nationalist Chinese government, since he was not a Communist. They instigated the commander of the Chinese Army Chen Tsi Tsay, who was a Communist, to rise against Jin and the latter had to flee to China.

The Commander of the Chinese forces then declared himself ruler of Turkestan and proceeded to sign a treaty with Russia in which he agreed to grant the Soviet Union huge concessions including a monopoly of Turkestan's exports of raw materials. In return Russia agreed to help Chen break the siege and liquidate the Moslem Republic of East Turkestan.

On 27 December 1933, three Russian columns equipped with 30 airplanes, 20 tanks and 500 armored cars emerged from Chouchak and engaged the nationalist forces in battle. After a fierce struggle, the rebels were defeated in July 1934 after they ran short of armaments and their leaders were captured and massacred, including Niyazi and Mawlana Thabet. Many innocent people were executed and brutalities committed against women. The cities were burned, properties confiscated and large treasures moved from the province of Ili to Russia. It is said that a caravan of trucks took two full months to move these treasures.

EAST TURKESTAN UNDER RUSSIAN DOMINATION

In order to control the country, the Russians stationed large forces at Maralbash which is considered the key to the country. In addition, over 10,000 Russian soldiers were stationed in the south at Khotan, Kashgar and Yarkand in order to defend Turkestan against India and Afghanistan. Forces were also stationed in the province of Qomol on the Chinese Border and Russian advisors were assigned in 1934 to the government; these included both military and civilians. The following is a list of some of these advisors: Malenkov, Fidin, Estchev, Svernov, Kotsov, Mormayov, Repalkin, Diyokov, Virviov, Zakharov, Marazov, Shernik, Molanov, Ivanov, Dr. Joravliov, and Dr. Libinov. Malenkov later became the Premier of the Soviet Union and General Fidin was a top advisor of Governor Chen and had great authority in the conduct of the government.

Generals Repalkin and Kotsov were the military advisors in Kashgar, General Diyokov was military advisor in Aksu, Generals Estchev and Svernov and twenty other officers occupied important positions in the military academy at Urumci. There were in addition hundreds of Russian experts in government departments, hospitals, transport, construction, mines, petroleum fields, etc. Russia also employed many Turkestanis who had received their education in Russia and had been thoroughly indoctrinated with Communist ideology. Among those were Mansour Effendi, Sayyed Haji, Hashem Haji, and Kader Haji. Mansour Haji was appointed as head of the JPO which was the equivalent of the Gestapo in Hitler's Germany. Hashem Haji was appointed head of this organization in Qomol and Kader Haji in Kashgar.

The newspapers and magazines were edited and the teaching posts were filled by Turkestanis brought over from West Turkestan. Russia also made use of Chinese Communists including, in the order of their arrival from Russia, Baudin in 1935, Wan Fi Chan in 1937, Wan Shogin, Chiang Min Fan, Wan Baw Chen, Din Bi Jon, Liu Chen Chen, Win Ban Tin, Ode Shen, Yo Chen Fa, Chao Po Jo, Chao Chou Yin, and Chiang Fi Min. Wan Baw Chen was appointed Director of Foreign Affairs, editor of the Sinkiang paper and Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist Committee. Chiang Fi Sin was appointed Assistant Border Supervision Commander. In 1938 arrived Min Pi On, Jo Wun, and Fan Pa Yinan and Min Pi, who was appointed Minister of Education. Fan Pa Yinan was appointed Governor of Khoten Province where the Russians had a large number of surveying experts who were drawing up maps of the border region with Tibet and India.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1936

The policy of terror perpetrated by Chen, the Russian stooge, produced a third revolution in 1936. But unfortunately the revolution was a failure and thousands of rebels had to flee to the Chinese province of Kansu under the leadership of Elias Khan, Sultan Sherif Tayji, Hussein Tayji, Nour Ali, Adaway, Thayeb, and Ay Ahmad Tayji.

The Russians pursued the rebels by land and air, but 18,000 rebels were able to reach Kansu after they suffered great losses and hardships. About 4,500 rebels had to flee into India via the Tibetan mountains under the leadership of Elias Khan. Of those only 3,000 reached India safely, the rest having perished from starvation and frost.

This exodus was a barometer of the extent of disorder and oppression to which the people had been subjected under Chinese-Russian rule. Even the army's animals of burden were fed better than the people. Of those who reached India, only 800 survived the disease and the hard climate to which they were not accustomed. When four of these leaders reached Calcutta on 28 September 1937, one of them was interviewed by a correspondent of a French news agency who proceeded to distort their statement as a friendly gesture to the Imperialist Government in China. This version was printed by all morning papers under "Chinese Pilgrims," except Al Ahram. I immediately undertook to set the record straight and wrote on 30 September 1937 that the story published by the French news agency to the effect that those were four families of 22 Chinese Moslems who had left China voluntarily to perform the pilgrimage was not true. The story was denied by Mohammed Said al-Turkestani who said that 2,000 people had fled from the oppression by the Chinese rulers in East Turkestan and that it was not true that they had left voluntarily to perform the pilgrimage. The majority of their number, he continued, had perished from hunger, disease, and the strain of the long and difficult journey through the desert and over the mountains.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1937

But the torch of struggle for freedom remained alive in the hearts of the people of Turkestan, who after sustaining the crushing defeat of the previous year, were awaiting for another opportunity to rise in order to regain their freedom and drive out both Russian and Chinese imperialism. In 1937, a popular revolt was declared in Yarkand under the leadership of Abd al Niyaz whose aim was to expel the Chinese and the Russians. And just as the Western Powers assist each other in resisting popular independence movements, the Russians helped the Chinese suppress the revolt. The revolution

spread rapidly and it was necessary for Chien to obtain the assistance of 30,000 Russian troops with 20 airplanes, 11 armored cars, 30 tanks and 500 transport vehicles to crush the rebels who were few in number. The leaders of the revolt were all executed by the Russians, who in order to spread terror among the people ordered a general massacre in the cities which supported the rebels. Some 80,000 citizens were massacred, the cities were looted and the mosques were burned down.

THE UGLY MASSACRE

On the altar of freedom and in the cause of liberating the people of Turkestan, many martyrs fell not because they committed any crime, but because they resisted the committing of crimes. In one year, that of 1928-29, the following martyrs were executed by hanging:

1. President Khoja Niyazi, President of the Republic.
2. Mawlana Thabet, Premier.
3. Yunes Bey, Minister of the Interior.
4. Al Haj Abou Al Hasan, Minister of Commerce.
5. Shaykh Abdallah, Minister of Public Works.
6. Karim Khan, Advisor to the President.
7. Taher Bey, Speaker of Parliament.
8. General Sherif Khan, Commander of the Armed Forces.
9. Hussein Bey, a notable.
10. Torson Bey, a notable.
11. General Othman Oraz.
12. Tordi Akhan Bey, Governor of Elie Province.
13. Saleh Dargha, Governor of Akso Province.
14. Mansour Effendi, Mayor of Shoushak.
15. Shaykh Mohammed Niyaz A'lam, Judge of Shayar.
16. Shayky Hashem, Judge of Kotchar.
17. Shaykh Aget Haji, Judge of Altay.
18. Shaykh Murad Hadrat, man of learning.
19. Shaykh Abdul Hag Hadrat, man of learning.
20. Shaykh Mawlani Abdul Bagi, man of learning.
21. Abdul Majid Qadi, man of learning.
22. Omar Bey, a traitor landlord.

In addition, many innocent citizens were executed without any charge brought against them.

[Picture of Mohammed Mohity, Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of East Turkestan.]

THE REVOLUTION OF 1940

Despite the vigorous efforts of the Russians and Governor Chen to suppress the nationalist spirit of the people of Turkestan, they were faced with recurrent uprisings whenever an opportune moment offered itself.

In 1940 another revolt broke out in the Altay province, which is rich in uranium, under the leadership of the hero Uthman Batour. The revolt continued for a period of four years despite the efforts of the Russians and the Chen government to crush it. The rebels raided the industrial establishments set up around the uranium mines and thus inflicted on the Russians heavy material losses. By 1943, the rebels were able to rid East Turkestan from Russian imperialism as we shall show later.

If one were to say that the Russians have spent much time and energy perfecting the methods of oppression, terror and intimidation he would not be far from the truth, because their barbaric behavior and the evil with which they treated the people of East Turkestan are the clearest proofs of such a proposition.

[Picture of General Uthman Batour in heavy winter clothes while he was leading the Rebels in the mountains of Altay.]

The Russians have surpassed previous evil butchers and will perhaps never be surpassed in their methods of torture and oppression in which they showed great evil imagination. One is at a loss how there can be human beings who could fall to such an abyss of meanness and barbarism. It is indeed hard to find words which would describe adequately the terror which they perpetrated, and we can only approximate here in describing that which will forever remain a blot on the dignity of mankind.

The people of Turkestan were looking towards a new future when they could stand on their own feet and progress like other nations. But between them and this bright future stood Russia ready to deal a barbaric blow to the courageous people whenever they lifted their heads.

The Russians desecrated the land of Turkestan and strangled its peace-loving people, killing the innocent, exploiting the national resources and belittled the national honor. Using barbaric methods, they suppressed religious and spiritual life and destroyed the bases of commercial, economic, and agricultural life. To impoverish the country, they shipped to Russia all females of the livestock population.

RELIGION IS THEIR ENEMY

They had one look at religion and they were disturbed by the evidence of dignity and pride that it inspired in the people. They suppressed it and tried to obliterate it by murdering people in order to prepare the country for their demonic ideology.

For you, dear reader, we recount some of the horrors perpetrated by those evil men against your Moslem brethren and against human conscience, hopes, tradition and culture. These are facts and figures whose truth cannot be denied, if the truth was ever in doubt.

THE SECRET OF TEMPTATION

The mineral, agricultural and livestock wealth of East Turkestan, especially the minerals uranium and petroleum which were available in large quantities over a large area of land, excited the greed of Russia. Russia then proceeded forthwith and swallowed up the entire country. And when it realized that the nationals were opposed to this illegal act and that they were preparing to rise against the invaders, it embarked upon a policy of oppression and tyranny designed to weaken their resistance. Russia drew on its full experience in oppression and torture, filling the prisons with victims and perfecting the means of torture. The gestapo-like J.P.O. was set up along with other spy networks such as the Anti-Imperialist Committee for this purpose. Many an enthusiastic national fell in their trap, and the people were confused between true nationalists and opportunists; neither could they tell enemy from friend.

Charges were fabricated against many. It was sufficient, in order to throw a whole family in jail and punish them with death by one of the barbaric methods, to fabricate charges against only one member of the family. If we can only imagine the large number who were victims of those spies, we could visualize the extent of the barbaric tragedy that was being acted in Turkestan while the impression given to the outside world was one of comfort and security. For the Russians surrounded the country with an iron curtain in order to hide the truth from the world outside and avoid receiving protests from foreign countries.

As a result of such measures, fear and terror spread throughout the land to an extent that people did not feel secure even in their own homes. Afraid to speak out, they were fearful lest their thoughts should give them away.

SPIES IN EACH FAMILY

The Russians succeeded in dividing families against themselves by making sons spy on their own fathers, wives on their husbands, sisters on their brothers, and neighbors on their fellow neighbors. Eighty per cent of the top officials, 50 percent of other government employees, 20 percent of the army, students and peasants and 10 percent of the workers and city dwellers were engaged in spying. Spying was so pervasive and widespread that each citizen felt as if every one of his moves was being watched and all his actions reported to the J.P.O. The charges brought against the citizens were very queer which showed that the Russians were barbarians even when they had their victims at their mercy. At times, they would arrest people on the ground that they were plotting a revolt, at other times they accused them of collaboration with a foreign government and sometimes they were accused of being stubborn nationals -- Turkestanis, as if they should have been born Russian. These charges were fabricated in order to justify torture and massacre, but had they done what they wanted to do they would have saved themselves the trouble of seeking excuses and saved the spies from their shameful deeds.

ANNIHILATION THEIR PURPOSE

Whatever the charges and accusations, their real motive was obvious: they were aiming at annihilating the people of Turkestan who for thirty years had resisted them with great courage and sacrifice. They wanted to erase Turkestan from the map in order to open the country up for Russian settlers. Let me accompany you, dear reader, to the prisons and concentration camps to observe the number of prisoners.

I do not believe we could determine exactly the number of concentration camps or the number of their victims. Siberia itself is full of them, graveyards of the living. Those creatures are neither dead nor living, but they are martyrs of tyranny and injustice.

Let us recite here only one example to illustrate similar events in West Turkestan, Caucasia, Crimea, Ural and Siberia. Investigations conducted in 1944 following the revolt in Turkestan and the evacuation of the country by Russian troops revealed that 300,000 citizens had been arrested under all sorts of charges.

A HUNDRED THOUSAND MARTYRS

The Russians executed 100,000 people by means which give them a place of pride among the savages. They invented 125 methods of torture and 28 methods of execution, all of which were tried on

those martyrs. One of these methods was to cut the limbs first and let the victim bleed to death and another was to pluck the victims' eyes and disfigure their faces before executing them.

Disfiguring, drowning, electrocution, hanging, poisoning, strangulation, starvation, burning, and throwing down into mines full of poisonous gases is but a brief list of the ugly means of human destruction resorted to by the Russians.

PLAYING WITH SUFFERING

Nothing pleased the Russians more than discovering a new method of execution which they were eager to try out on the Turk-estanis whose bodies had already been emaciated by torture. They would throw them to the ground and pass heavy vehicles over their bodies while the torturers were looking down with delight. Other victims were tied to rapidly driven vehicles and were dragged to death. These crimes are not new to the Russians. In 1937, following the defeat of Abdul Niyaz, they forced 7,000 prisoners to dig their own graves in which they were buried alive.

THOSE LEFT BEHIND

In addition to these atrocities, several thousand people were condemned to hard labor under conditions of extreme severity. The ill were treated by death. It was a picture of horror beyond description. A whole nation was being savagely annihilated because a great power wanted it that way and a barbaric government had decreed it. Ironically, this was taking place in the 20th century, the century of culture and civilization. This was called peace and the rights of nations among those who claimed that they were peace-loving and champions of nations.

COMBATTING RELIGION

But, dear reader, this is not all the suffering that Russia attempted to inflict on this proud and free Moslem nation. Russia tried to achieve what is uglier, meaner and more disgusting. It realized that the pride which characterized these people and the strength they had was all due to the great religion of Islam. Revolts were suppressed only to break out again in greater force. Who can break the spirit of this nation and its Islamic fortitude. It was the great and tyrannical power of Russia which itself had lived for centuries under the Mongols and acquired their fierce temperament. Hulaku's invasion of the Moslem world was carried to almost a successful conclusion by his Russian successors.

THE STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLE

We found that the secret behind the strength of the people was their Moslem religion. It is the life which gives strength whenever physical strength breaks down. The faith which God has bestowed upon each Moslem is capable of destroying the power of any tyrant. The Russians realized this and concluded that their control was secure only if they destroyed this great religion. They destroyed mosques and schools which they converted into stables but they could not remove the faith in the hearts of the believers, and they knew that they were defeated. They turned their attention to the youth, indoctrinating them with their false dogmas while insulating them from their parents who were prevented by spies from telling their children that they belonged to the glorious religion of Islam.

POISONING THE MINDS OF THE YOUTH

With this they misguided the new generation while by massacre and destruction they were annihilating the old. Thus Islam was obliterated. The mosques were converted into theatres and stores, etc. The holy books were burned along with all national history and literature books. The national and religious schools were closed, the religious courts were closed, religious properties confiscated, the national language abolished and the youth educated in Communist atheism in order that they may integrate with the Russian race. May God defeat their aims and efforts, turn their meanness against them and save Turkestan from their grip.

THE TREATY BY WHICH TURKESTAN WAS SOLD TO RUSSIA IN 1940

This treaty was concluded between Russia and Chen Isi-Tsai. Its most important provisions are the following:

Article 1. The Government of East Turkestan agrees to grant the Government of the U.S.S.R. the right to explore for zinc and other minerals in the territory of East Turkestan.

Article 2. The Government of the U.S.S.R. shall enjoy the following privileges in the territory of East Turkestan:

(1) Exploration for zinc deposits and other minerals and their exploitation and carrying out geological and topographical surveys;

(2) Right to use minerals discovered for the production of various metals;

[Tr. Note: No. 3 is missing from Arabic text.]

(4) Exploiting all natural resources for generating power;

(5) Construction of networks of communications;

(6) Free use of all roads in East Turkestan;

(7) Free use of all means of transport and communication, laying telegraph and telephone lines, and building broadcasting stations as the U.S.S.R. Government desires;

(8) All engineering equipment and other machinery imported into East Turkestan were to be exempt from customs dues during the first 10 years after the agreement was concluded;

(9) All building material (bricks, stone, timber, supplies, coal, and wood) were to be supplied and all supplies needed for mines to be adequately stored;

(10) Workers from East Turkestan were to be supplied and U.S.S.R. engineers granted visas and work permits anywhere in East Turkestan;

(11) Supplies and equipment to be imported and distributed by the trade federation set up for the purpose.

Article 3. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has the right to export industrial products made of minerals from East Turkestan, and these exports were to be exempt from any customs or other duties.

Article 4. To ensure the implementation of this agreement a Trade Federation known as Sen Tin is set up to supervise the exploitation of the tin mines, and the Federation shall enjoy all privileges and rights.

Article 5. During the period covered by this agreement, the government of East Turkestan undertakes to acquire any land that may be required for mining and obtain the timber needed for building. All areas agreed upon with Sen Tin must be evacuated and rehabilitated as quickly as possible.

Article 6. The Sen Tin Federation may buy or lease buildings and stores in other areas as well. All workers and employees shall enjoy the right to fish in any river or lake.

Article 7. During the first five years of the present agreement, the Government of East Turkestan receives in kind 5 percent of the tin and other minerals extracted and thereafter 6 percent thereof until the termination of the agreement. The Government of East Turkestan shall sell its share to the Government of the U.S.S.R. for delivery at the common borders at prices equal to the average of world tin prices during the preceding year.

Article 8. In lieu of all exemptions and concessions the Federation of Sen Tin Shall pay to the Government of East Turkestan annually a sum which is equivalent to 2 percent of the value of its exported products. No other payments or taxes shall be made.

Article 9. East Turkestan shall cooperate with the Sen Tin Federation in carrying out its objectives, but may not exercise any right of control, supervision or auditing over the Federation.

Article 10. This agreement shall come into force upon ratification.

Article 11. This agreement shall be drafted in four identical copies: two in Russian and two in Chinese. Drawn up on November 26, 1940 in Takwa (Urumci) capital of East Turkestan.

Representatives of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

Representatives of the Government of East Turkestan.

Signed Signed

Signed

Bakolin Karbov

Chen Tsi-Tsai

This treaty, which was dictated by the Russians on the Government of Chen Tsi-Tsai, is a sterling example that Russia is an imperialist country, unsurpassed by any other country. One glance at the treaty is sufficient to convince us that this country is a symbol of injustice and oppression, that tyranny is its purpose, injustice is its rule, oppression its law and exploitation its aim. While exploiting the country's mineral, agricultural and livestock wealth to satisfy their imperialist greed, the Communists were claiming that they were champions of peace, freedom and equality. Unfortunately, some people who are ignorant of the facts have been fooled by this propaganda and have allowed themselves to spread destructive Communist ideas behind which Russian imperialism is disguised. Communism is a creature of the evil in us which is used to strangle the human race and subdue individuals to those criminals tyrants. Russia has easily swallowed up everything in Turkestan including wealth and freedom and left nothing for the people of Turkestan but tears, blood, and sorrow.

The entire wealth of the country, its agriculture, industry and trade, was subjected to the provisions of the treaty which precluded anyone from establishing a factory or opening a store except within very narrow limits. Production was controlled under the terms of this cursed treaty until the whole economy of Turkestan was strangled by a treaty which, it was claimed, was concluded to ensure the prosperity of Turkestan.

As for the mineral wealth, the treaty dealt a blow to any prospect for the future prosperity of Turkestan. The Russians had the sole concession to extract minerals and regulate their use in the interest of the Russian economy exclusively. The Russians were given the key to the entire resources of Turkestan while the people of Turkestan were denied the knowledge and the means to use these hidden resources. In their social life they were also deprived of consumers goods unless the Russians permitted and deprived of the means of recreation possessed by all free nations. The people felt as though they were in chains. Their Government was keener on enforcing the treaty than they were on looking after the welfare of its people. The Chinese governor himself had become a prisoner of the Russians and subject to their influence. He was reduced to a mere whip in their hands.

Turkestan was in effect transformed into a huge concentration camp with the Chinese governor its warden. The camp was owned by invaders who, under the guise of a treaty, enjoyed the fruits of other people's toil. They claimed that the treaty brought plenty and prosperity. They were right. The treaty brought plenty and prosperity to the Russian people. But the people of Turkestan were set backwards hundreds of years. Despite all, the Russians spread the lie that Turkestan was enjoying freedom. While the world outside was told that under the new regime Turkestan was free, one of the ugliest crimes that ever burdened the conscience of humanity was underway. The nations outside were not to blame if they believed these claims, because the people of Turkestan did not have the means to tell the truth. What a farce! What freedom is it if people cannot even read their holy book. A few of those who read Russian magazines noticed that the writers who described the condition of the Moslems in Turkestan were all Russian. Is there no Turkestani who enjoys the blessings which his people are said to have to join with the Russians in this propaganda. The fact is that no such person exists or can exist for the simple reason that all the people of Turkestan have been oppressed to an extent that they were unable even to moan. After having trampled his victim, the murderer was announcing to the world that his victim was happy in his fate.

(To reveal the methods resorted to by the Russians to obtain this agreement, we reproduce below the text of the letter sent by Chen Tsi Tsai to Chiang Kai-Shek on July 7, 1942.)

Mr. President:

The frank discussion which I had with your emissary General Chou has made it clear to me the extent of your interest in East Turkestan. I discussed with him all matters relating to the situation here, and I have asked him to report to you upon his return to China the delicacy of my position. The reports which you will be receiving from him will not only enable you to obtain a clear picture of the difficulties that we face in East Turkestan, but will also make clear my loyalty to you and to the central government.

I have for a long time been converted to the Marxian ideology which I hold in great regard. As a follower of Marx, I have at the same time been convinced that the Soviet Union will seriously help East Turkestan to lift itself up. Ever since I assumed power over the administration of Turkestan I have pursued two cardinal policies:

1. Friendship towards the Soviet Union.
2. Resistance to imperialism.

When I visited the Soviet Union in 1938 to seek medical treatment, I therefore joined the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. in the hope that Turkestan could receive effective aid to speed up the defense against Japan and the reconstruction of our nation. These were my motives in adhering to the Communists during the past ten years. But unfortunately my loyalty to Communism was not only unrewarded, but it was used as a means to destroy Turkestan whenever the opportunity arose. The revolt which was to break out on April 12 at the time of the meeting of the Soviet was one of the fiercest uprisings engineered by the Russians in Turkestan. They made use of consuls, experts, teachers, and Chinese Communist workers in Turkestan as well as politicians and soldiers. A black list was prepared including all loyal political and military officials including myself, and we were all condemned to death. The plan was to replace the existing administration with an independent Soviet Chinese Communist government. Unfortunately some of our people participated in this mad scheme in aid of the enemy. But fortunately the attempt to assassinate General Chen Chi Ji and the investigations which followed were a main factor leading to the frustration of the plot. I am now convinced that the Soviet Union has abandoned the Marxist system. The leaders of the Soviet Union are merely exploiting the Marxist system. They claim that they are friends of the oppressed nations whereas in fact they present a threat surpassing the combined threat of all the imperialist countries. The Chinese Communists not only followed the path of the Soviet Union, but they tried to spoil relations between Turkestan and the U.S.S.R. as a first step to gaining control over Turkestan and using it as a base for their activities. As I am fully informed of developments here during the past decade, I can assure you of the truth of these reports. When my brother Chen Chieh Ji returned from

Chunking, where he was honored by your meeting with him, he conveyed to me your views that the three basic principles of our nation constitute in themselves a different form of socialism. I am very pleased to hear this expression because in one of my letters concerning the six basic policies of our country, I argued that the first step of the Chinese Revolution should be to apply three basic principles of the nation and the second step should be to create a socialist system. I am happy to note that my views agree with your thoughts to a very great extent.

With my ignorance and inexperience, I was deceived by those who adhered to Marxism. From their actions, which betray meanness and deceit, I am convinced that they are doing all that is in their power to mar the friendly feelings that now exist between your excellency and myself and thus to drive a wedge in the strong ties that exist between the government of East Turkestan and the Central Government of China. Their aim was to destroy Turkestan and break up the unity of the country, and I have pledged myself to be loyal to the country under the leadership of the Kuomintang.

When the representative of the Chinese Communists in Moscow passed in Turkestan on his way to Yin An accompanied by Kansin and Win Fa, I, as a Marxist enthusiast, took this opportunity to express my desire to join the Chinese Communist Party and they promised to convey my wishes to the Politbureau of the Chinese Communist Party. Later when Chen Li, an important member of the Politbureau, passed in Turkestan on his way to the Soviet Union, I learned from him that he and others had agreed to my joining the Chinese Communist Party, including Mao Tse-tung, Chen Chao Yu, Kang Sen-Pin Deh-hwah and others. They viewed my joining the Party as an honor for them. I also learned that because of my position, they could not accept me in the Party immediately. I was told that even though I had for a long time qualified for membership, they feared that the reactionary people of Turkestan and the fact that British imperialism and the Kuomintang may view it with disfavor may make this step not in the best interest of East Turkestan. It was therefore decided to postpone opening Party headquarters in Turkestan and to postpone my adherence to the Party.

In September 1938, I visited the Soviet Union and was received by Stalin with whom I discussed the problem of membership in the Chinese Communist Party. Stalin agreed that I join the Soviet Communist Party first and later be transferred to the Chinese Communist Party. At the time I had full confidence in their promises since I was a Chinese and I had a great desire to help in the Chinese Revolution. But time passed without anyone showing any interest in my problem and I began to believe that I was held under suspicion. But one day in November 1938 a secret agent of the Soviet Union paid me an unexpected visit to request that I sign a document leasing the tin mines to the Soviet Union under conditions which implied aggression.

I asked that the conditions be reconsidered and that the duration of the lease be shortened. He replied that not a single word would be changed and that as a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union I had not only to obey the laws of the Party but also to fight energetically for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government then signed the agreement and claimed that it was approved by the Government of East Turkestan, which was not true. They told me to sign the agreement and later to clear up the situation with Stalin when I met him next. When I argued that the tin mines should be a joint Turkestan-Soviet project, I was again reminded that I was a member in the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and that the Soviet Union had not yet been compensated for the heavy losses in lives sustained in crushing the nationalist revolt in Turkestan against Chinese suzerainty. Later another document was sent to me requesting concessions over the petroleum fields in Dosan Zi, and I was ordered to sign the same, which I refused. It is thus clear from the foregoing facts that the purpose behind my admission to the Communist Party was to force me to sign secret agreements which would pave the way for their full control over Turkestan.

The contents of the document that was presented to me by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union contained mostly ridiculous and unprecedented demands. I did in 1934 suggest to the Soviet Government the creation of a Communist order in Turkestan, but the real motive behind my suggestion was to appeal to the Soviet Union since Urumci was then besieged by the nationalist rebels, and I was forced to make the suggestion by the Soviet Consul General, Mr. Avrisoff.

East Turkestan was in danger of seceding from China as a result of the recurrent revolts organized by its people to fulfill their dream of creating the Moslem Government of East Turkestan. To obtain help from Urumci or from the Central Government was not possible. Under these circumstances, I had no other choice but to appeal to the Soviet Union for friendly aid, and in these critical times Avrisoff squeezed the maximum out of the situation by declaring that should the Soviet Union come through with the requested aid, Turkestan should express true and frank friendship in return.

In the cause of our national unity I had to resort to such devious methods to cope with the situation.

To come back to the proposition which I submitted to the Soviet Government in 1941 suggesting the creation of a Soviet system in Turkestan which was the subject of the secret document mentioned above, I was in fact trying to find out whether the Soviet Union had any imperialistic aims in East Turkestan or whether they were true followers of Marxism. My offer was in other words not seriously made. In 1940 and 1941 I uncovered a great plot organized by the followers of the Islamic religion whose aim was to detach

East Turkestan from China in order to create the Republic of East Turkestan. The Consul General of the Soviet Union was behind the uprisings [The Soviet was not in fact behind this revolt whose aim was to free the holy land from both Russian and Chinese imperialism]. The revolt was suppressed and 20 butchers and hundreds of sympathizers were arrested.

It was not clear to me then whether the plot was organized by the nationalists or by the Soviet Union. The real purpose behind my letter was to find out exactly that. I awaited a reply with no avail, since the Soviet, realizing that my suggestion was intended merely to find out their views, ignored it.

It is thus clear from the foregoing facts, that the real reasons behind the Russian document were to scare me and to prevent a rapprochement between us.

Respectfully,

Chen Si Tsay.

THE REVOLT OF 1942

The 1940 revolt against Russia which was led by Othman Batour was driven into the mountains by the tremendous forces which were directed against it. A guerilla warfare was then carried on against the Russian forces which lived in constant fear of kidnapping and assassination. This went on until 1942 when the new revolt broke out.

The Russians themselves prepared the way for this revolt by their actions. Having despaired of crushing the guerilla war, they initiated a savage campaign of terror and genocide against the people until the whole nation rose like one man, defeated the Russian forces and chased them to within a few miles of Urumci. Russia had at the time moved the bulk of its forces to Stalingrad to repel the German invasion. The people of Turkestan chased the forces stationed in their country into West Turkestan. The Russian retreat revealed certain strange facts that had been disguised under the occupation.

The records left behind by the Russians showed that whole families had disappeared and that 300,000 had been put in concentration camps of whom 100,000 had been executed with indescribable savagery. Compared to a total population of 8 million people, this is a large number. Those released from prison camps told stories of terror which were unbelievable in their barbarism. The bodies of those executed could not be found. Two bodies were recovered by chance from a deserted mine. It was found out later that one was Khoja Niyaz, President of the Republic of Turkestan and the other was General Sherif Khan, one of his military commanders. This was sufficient to indicate the methods used by the Russians in dealing with their adversaries.

It was also by coincidence that when following some heavy rains the building previously occupied by the Gestapo-like J.P.O. collapsed, 3,000 human skulls were uncovered in the rubble which showed that underneath the building was a prison in which many died. In fact, there was hardly a man alive in Turkestan who had not at one time or another been sent to one of those prisons.

Under the terms of the treaty previously discussed, the Russians had started to exploit the mineral wealth of East Turkestan especially in the provinces of Ili and Altay. Chen Tsi-tsai turned against the Russians in 1942 when the forces of Othmar Batour were chasing them out of the country and joined the forces of Chiang Kai-Shek to oppose both the nationalist elements under Othman Batour and the Russians who had made him governor. He arrested all Russian subjects.

Having rid itself of Russian imperialism, it remained for the revolt to dispose of Nationalist China which was a relatively easy task. Russian imperialism had been defeated at great sacrifice in lives and property, but all that was needed to chase the rats of Nationalist China were a few wooden arrows. The soldiers of Nationalist China were extremely afraid of the Moslem fighters. The cry of Alla is great would shake them and make them submit as if they were rabbits.

The Revolution command issued an order calling on all able bodied Turkestanis to bear arms and join in the campaign to purge Turkestan of the Chinese rats. It then sent an ultimatum to the Chinese Governor warning him that unless he evacuates Turkestan with his troops by a specified date, his fate was complete annihilation. Russia had then concentrated all its forces in Stalingrad and was therefore not in a position to help China against the freedom fighters of Turkestan or to save the Chinese Governor from his dim fate.

At this point the Chinese Governor sent his brother to Chunking to request reinforcements against the rebels, and he received from Chiang Kai-shek, the criminal, number 1 stooge of imperialism and enemy of Islam, six well-equipped divisions which were taken from the Japanese-Chinese front where they were badly needed in order to save Chinese imperialism in Turkestan. Even then Chiang was begging the British to open a second front in Burma in order to relieve his front where the Japanese boot had stepped down hard on his neck. As if he had a surplus of troops, he sent his forces to suppress the freedom of Turkestan.

The forces that were sent were not ordinary troops; they were suicide troops that were needed by Nationalist China in its fight against Japan. But what could one say to this fanatic whose urgent desire was to destroy a nation whose only guilt was that it believed in God.

The Free Turkestanis met this wave with patience and faith, happy at the prospect of dying as martyrs. The battles that were fought were bitter, the Turkestanis fighting with bows and arrows while the Chinese fighting with tanks and other modern armaments. Under the banner of the Qur'an the people of Turkestan waged the greatest and holiest battle in their history. Their motto was as the Caliph Abou Bakr said, "Seek death and you shall be given life." The people of Turkestan realized that the choice was between a life of dignity and freedom or death with honor. The land was soaked with the blood of the suicide Chinese troops who did commit suicide, but in Turkestan.

It was a glorious sight, the charge of the Moslem ranks with only spears as their weapon attacking well-armed soldiers as if they were sheep. They threw terror in the ranks of the Chinese who surrendered either to be killed or to espouse Islam at the hands of their victors.

While the people of Turkestan were thus defeating the Chinese imperialists, their newly-founded regular army was laying siege to Urumci, the capital city. The Chinese Governor was warned either to leave with his gangs or to fight to the bitter end. But the Chinese divisions mustered enough force to relieve the criminal governor.

I would like here to recount an incident which took place when the Chinese troops attempted to cross the borders. They were intercepted by the Turkestani frontier forces. At first they resorted to stratagem. They told the Turkestani commander that they had come to punish the Chinese Communist Governor for siding with Russia against Turkestan and that their mission was to purge the country of Communists. The Turkestani commander, ridiculed them by telling them to purge their own country of communists before they purged other countries, after which they got into an argument.

Finding that deceit did not work, the Chinese forces engaged the frontier forces in battle and so overwhelmed them numerically that they were able to proceed to their death. But they rendered great service to the governor in Urumci, who welcomed them and declared his allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek.

The regular forces of Turkestan fought with great heroism against a nation which outnumbered them greatly. Defeat followed and the army of Turkestan was dissipated. It broke up into small companies which took to the mountains to resume their guerilla raids. Again the painful experience of losing its freedom was a fact.

The people of Turkestan did not think that their friendly neighbor Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek would suddenly become an enemy, but criminals accomodate other criminals and imperialism is the same everywhere. This criminal betrayed next his own friend Chen Tsi-Tsai whom he replaced with one of his stooges O Jon Chen

early in 1944. This savage proceeded to implement a crime which would put the devil to shame. Chiang Kai-Shek ordered him to liquidate all the educated classes in Turkestan and this criminal followed a demonic plan.

But the people of Turkestan soon rose up again in rebellion against Chinese rule especially in Ili province. At first they were fearful lest any action on their part might invite Russian interference and control. But the Russians assured them of their policy of non-interference and of their desire to help them liberate Turkestan and gain their freedom. The revolt which started on November 17, 1944 was led by the Honorable Shaykh Ali and after many bloody battles the rebels were in control of Ili province. On January 30, 1945 a new government for the Moslem Republic of East Turkestan was formed under the Presidency of Shaykh Ali Khan. The great national hero General Othman Batour later joined the ranks of the rebels and with his help the provinces of Altay and Chouchak were wrested from the Chinese forces which sustained very heavy losses. [The President Shaykh Ali then issued a decree appointing General Othman Batour governor of Altay Province.] This speedy victory strengthened the revolt which owed much to Russian assistance.

The army of Turkestan resumed its attacks on the Chinese positions with the purpose of purging the country from all Chinese elements, and the Chinese army began to retreat. Then Russia saved them by offering its good offices to negotiate a settlement between the two parties. Under Russian pressure the government of Turkestan agreed to negotiate after it had rejected a similar offer by the Chinese. Turkestan demanded withdrawal of all Chinese troops and peace was in fact concluded on these terms with the autonomy of East Turkestan recognized. Free elections were to be conducted to select the new government and nationals were to replace Chinese in government posts. The national peace delegation was led by Rahim Jan assisted by Ahmad Jan and Aboul Kheir Toura. The Chinese delegation was led by Jan Ji Jon who was then Chiang Kai-Shek's right hand man. He was, when the treaty was concluded, appointed Commander of North West China and Governor of Turkestan. He was assisted by three assistants known for their leanings towards Russia, namely Ahmad Jan and Burhan Shahidi who were deputies to the governor general and Leo Mon Chou as Secretary of the Governor.

The function of these four was to conduct elections as stipulated in the treaty. In the meanwhile, Russia attempted to dominate the three provinces of Ili, Chouchak and Altay but President Ali, assisted by a group of nationalists, resisted these moves. The Soviet Consulate in Ili then began to plot and kidnapped Shaykh Ali announcing that he had left for Moscow to seek medical treatment. They then arrested all the supporters of President Shaykh Ali and declared Ahmad Jan President of the three provinces. They were thus successful in dividing East Turkestan into two parts.

At this point the hero Othman Batour rose again to fight Russian imperialism and engaged the Russian forces in battle. Outnumbered, he was defeated and took to the mountains in the vicinity of Khojen while the Russian forces occupied Altay. He again formed considerable guerilla forces and started to raid Altay until he liberated it from the Russians only to lose it again as soon as the Russians brought in huge reinforcements. Again the hero took to the mountains to resume his struggle against Russian imperialism until finally the combination of Russian imperialism from the North and Chinese Communist imperialism from the South crushed his glorious resistance, as we shall see below.

Early in 1947, elections took place in seven provinces, but the Russians did not allow the election committees to enter the three provinces which they controlled. They did all that was in their power to rig the elections in their favor so that they could be assured of a majority to gain control over all the 10 provinces which make up East Turkestan. They paid large sums of money in bribes to agents through their Consulates in Urumci and Kashgar but the national awareness prevailed and the outcome of the elections was a great blow to Russian ambitions. Those elected were from among those who detested imperialism and were true nationalist leaders, including Dr. Mas'oud Sabri, Issa Yussef, and Mohammed Amin Baghra who were chosen by the deputies in the National Assembly to conduct the affairs of government. Dr. Mas'oud Sabri was chosen Governor General of East Turkestan, Issa Yussef was chosen Secretary General of the government and Mohammed Amin Baghra was assigned to planning and development affairs. Thus after 77 years, the country was in the custody of trusted hands who were working for the general welfare.

The responsibilities assumed by these men were extremely serious. They had to navigate the ship of state through a turbulent sea full of intrigues and imperialist wind. The Russian Consulate at Urumci was still distributing funds among its agents and traitors. They waged economic warfare on the country by buying up large quantities of gold and silver and thus causing an artificial rise in prices. The Chinese were also apprehensive of the increased national fervor.

IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA AIMING AT DISTORTING THE TRUTH
ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND THE REPLIES
PUBLISHED IN THE EGYPTIAN AND WORLD PRESS

At the time when between 1934 and 1943 East Turkestan was waging a war in defense of its national existence, and to rid itself of Chinese and Russian imperialism, the two countries did not agree on anything more than on distorting the truth about this independence movement. They branded it as a tool of Japanese imperialism and its leaders as agents of Japan. And when the

Nationalist Chinese Government gained sole control over East Turkestan during 1943-49, revolts continued one after the other with the purpose of driving out the imperialists. Nationalist China worked diligently in denouncing these movements, maintaining that they were soviet plots although it was obvious to any sensible person that these charges were devoid of any logic. But the imperialists believed the lies that they themselves had fabricated because there was nothing else to believe.

The experts of rumors, the agents of the imperialists hurried to Chiang Kai-Shek to urge him to subjugate the people of East Turkestan by liquidating the nationalist elements. It is perhaps the place here to acquaint you, dear reader, with the shameful record of this mean old man Chiang Kai-Shek who now cries over the loss of his country and his democratic regime. Let me summarize briefly some of the actions of his agent O Jon Chen, who buried freedoms, combatted free thought and massacred free men under the guise of combatting communism. He persisted in his efforts to break the morale of the people and divorce them from nationalist ideas by importing ideas and customs that were part of the intruders' way of life. He forced the people of Turkestan to recite the Chinese National Anthem in all their meetings. The Anthem was written in Chinese by War Chen Win at the request of Sun Yat Sun, and it is not understandable to the people of Turkestan. The anthem urges the members of the Kuomintang Party to pursue the three principles for the building up of the Chinese Republic in the cause of world peace under the leadership of China. Then to compound their submission he ordered them to kneel whenever they saw a portrait of Sun Yat Sun in a movie, and he worked out a strange plan to erase the Turkestani race which was known as (Nasl Lashtormek) which called for the integration of the Chinese and Turkestani races by enforcing uniformity in dress, language, food, calendar, marriage of Moslem girls to Chinese occupation forces and kidnapping of other girls who were taken to be married to Buddhists in China. Prostitutes were brought over and the young men of Turkestan were forced to marry them. Some of the valiant men of Turkestan attempted to stop this barbaric practice by intercepting the caravans which were carrying this human merchandise and saving the girls from the grip of the imperialists. The reader must have experienced such false charges when British imperialism branded all the nationalist elements as communists in order to perpetuate its control over the country. It is easy for the aggressor to fabricate lies to justify his aggression, but the light of truth is stronger than the darkness of lies. These false charges have been well replied to by the freedom loving people of Turkestan who have written many articles explaining the real nature of the nationalist movement and its freedom from foreign influences. It is a self-generating force springing from the hearts of the Turkestani people and expressing their burning aspiration towards freedom and

independence. Among those who have written well in this field is Mr. Nour Mohammed who described brilliantly in ten articles the revolutionary situation today and refuted the misleading imperialist propaganda. The following article is one of those published on page 2 in Al-Ahram on 26 February, 1948

A MOSLEM REPUBLIC IN CENTRAL ASIA

We have received from Mr. Nour Mohammed, head of the Turkestan mission in Egypt, a letter calling our attention to a news item published in Al-Abram as reported by a news agency relating to a new independence movement in China, aiming at creating a Moslem Republic in Central Asia by forces which are loyal to the Soviet Union. Mr. Nour said that "the reports are contrary to the facts in East Turkestan because the people are seriously seeking independence. To them allegiance is synonymous with slavery, and they will never accept their fate to be one of slavery or the like. Since their overriding ambition is to gain independence, it would be unreasonable to believe that they would exchange a weak master for a strong one. Independence must be without conditions or strings attached, for imperialism is the same everywhere. Let us go back in history a little to look at independent Turkestan in 1877. In that year when King Bedawlat Yabour Khan died, the Chinese took this opportunity to invade the country. The people of Turkestan defended their country with heroism, but their courage did not help vis-a-vis the almost infinite number of troops sent against them. The Chinese conquered the territory of a free nation and thereby earned the hatred of the vanquished. They awaited the opportunity to rise again which they did several times until they finally succeeded in 1932 in creating the Moslem Republic of East Turkestan. But the Chinese did not give up. They set about destroying it with the help of the Soviet Union and the latter provided them with men and military equipment until they occupied the country again. Since then, East Turkestan has fallen under Russian influence. Several revolts took place which culminated in the successful revolt of 1943. At the time the Chinese governor could not obtain aid from the Soviet Union because the latter was engaged in a deadly battle at Stalingrad. Having appealed to the Central Government of China, he received six divisions which were withdrawn from the Chinese-Japanese front and the revolt was crushed again. But the people did not lay down their arms until they were promised self-government by China as soon as Russian influence was eliminated. But the Chinese authorities again resorted to terror and the people of Turkestan had to rebel in 1946. The Chinese government then sued for peace and all had high hopes in reaching a peaceful settlement. All provinces except Ili laid down their arms; the latter refused to do so until after complete independence was granted. The people of Turkestan are

fully convinced that they cannot submit to any foreign rule or integrate with any colonialists because their temperament is different. It is erroneous to confuse between these people who are of Turkish origin and whose language, traditions, religion, costumes, and national characteristics are different from other people.

We reproduce below an excerpt of a letter written by Mr Ahmad Ali on "The Arabs in Pakistan" and published in the Bechir Magazine issued in Marachi in 1948 in which he explained the situation in East Turkestan.

EAST TURKESTAN

East Turkestan known in China as Sinkiang is an old country rich in mineral resources which are largely untapped. The country was a part of a larger area known as Turkestan which included the cities of Samarkand, Bukhara and Fergana. The latter were annexed to Russia. But the people in East and West Turkestan belong to the same race, have a common culture, share a common land, and a common heritage. Such cities as Yarkand, Kashgar and Torfan remind us of the old glory when culture and plenty ruled the land. Geographically the country is divided into two regions by the Tien Shan mountain range (the Sky Mountains) which is so often mentioned in Turkestani literature. To the North are the barren plains of Ili also known as Khuldja and to the South is the Tarim River valley which flows eastward until it empties in the Lop Nor Lake. The area is a part of the Gobi desert. In ancient times Turkestan was at the crossroads of the trade routes which connected China with the outside world. One of these trade routes passed through Kashgar and Yarkand along the foot of the Pamir Mountains which now constitute the border between Turkestan and Pakistan. Another route passed through Khuldja. These two routes carried the trade between China on the one hand and the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East, Byzantium, Greece and the Roman Empire on the other. They were the avenue of Arab and Greek travellers and they carried the Arab armies which reached the gates of the Middle Monarchy in China. These two routes also served to connect and bring closer together the great civilizations of the Mediterranean, the Indus Valley and China. The people who inhabited the Tarim River Basin attained a high level of civilization during centuries long before the Christian era serving as middlemen between these centres of civilization. Let us recall how Alexander the Great led his victorious troops into China, how the Chinese commander Pan Chao invaded Turkestan and penetrated deep into the West, how the Buddhist monks infiltrated the Blossoming Monarchy, how the astute Arab General Qutaiba ibn Muslim attacked the Tang Empire of China, how Genghis Khan left a trail of destruction and finally how Baber left his town Fergana in Turkestan and conquered Punjab where he

established a great empire which ruled the Indian peninsula until the British occupation. Archeological studies give a clear indication of the wealth of culture in Turkestan, the crossroad of the Persian, Greek, Chinese and finally Islamic-Arab civilizations.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

During the past 20 years Turkestan has been in turmoil because the Kuomintang government of China has followed a purely imperialist policy. It is true that the policy of the Kuomintang as stated by its founder Sun Yat Sun dictated the principle of self-determination for all minorities. But this principle was not applied in practice and it was only natural for the people of Turkestan to oppose the existing government with violence. This is proved by the admission of the Chinese commander and military governor of East Turkestan, Chiang Chi Chong who on May 13, 1947 stated at a mass conference in Tihwa (Urumci) capital of East Turkestan that the situation in Kashgar created a feeling of hostility towards the Chinese Nationalist forces and their interests throughout Turkestan. He warned that unless there was a change in policy, the efforts to implement peacefully the agreements reached and to maintain the integrity of the local government would be frustrated. Let me give you one example which illustrates what I have been saying. On the same day that the public amnesty was declared, the entire city suddenly lowered the flag of Nationalist China and went out chanting in the streets. Not a single person cried "Long Live the Republic of China" but all were saying "Long Live the Revolution."

It is not surprising that the people of Turkestan should cheer the Revolution and refuse to cheer the Republic of China. For they love freedom and desire independence from foreign domination. If they were unable to take up arms in defense of their beliefs they could at least express their feelings in a peaceful manner. These were the methods by which India and Pakistan gained their independence. There is not a single group in Turkestan, no matter how attached they are to China, that would choose to remain under Chinese rule, for this would be considered an insult to the national dignity. The Chinese were not good rulers. They failed to develop agriculture and the economy, and their misrule drove the people into opposition and the desire to secede. At the present time there are three political factions in the country. The major faction is that of Ili which is led by a political party which is sympathetic to the Russians although it is not communist. This group was the opposition party in the Regional Council (consisting of 25 members of whom 10 were chosen by the Chinese authorities and 15 were elected). But they have all left the capital city for Ili and they have not returned since. They are in control of three of

the richest provinces in Turkestan, namely, Ili, Chouchak and Altay. In these three provinces, they created a Republic in 1944 and declared their independence from China, a status which they continue to enjoy although their position has remained very precarious. This is understandable in view of the geographical and military location of the country, flanked to the West by the Russians who are interested in having a friendly government in East Turkestan and to the East by China whose aim is to subjugate the country into the status of a colony. China has followed the same imperialist techniques which it denounces in other nations. All that the people of Turkestan want is to live in freedom peace and security and to develop their country both economically and culturally. [The author: The people of Turkestan will forever cherish the memory of writers like yourself who have defended truth and right.]

THE FATE OF THE WICKED

The days passed and misfortune befell the tyrant Chiang Kai-Shek who was subjected to the same fate he tried to inflict on weaker nations. He suffered a staggering defeat, lost his country and became an intruder in the land of others. He became the master of the island of Formosa which was a Japanese colony annexed by China. This was also a false claim, because the people of Formosa have their own language and are not of Chinese stock. The relations between China and Formosa were established after the surrender of Japan in 1945, when Nationalist China occupied the island not in order to save its people from their misery, but in order to colonize the country and subdue its people. Chiang Kai-Shek ruled Formosa with an iron hand and humiliated its people, but he was soon to suffer the same humiliation when his own country fell under Russian influence. The New China was called People's China, a misnomer, since the Chinese Communist Party did not gain power by popular support such as by conducting free elections. The Communist Party gained control in the battlefield causing the death of millions of lives. They adopted the tactics of gangs and robbers. Such a government is not new to China, for in 1938 Japan established a similar regime which was called the Chinese Empire. Its capital city was Peking and it was formally recognized by all the Axis powers -- Germany and Italy -- and their satellites. World public opinion could not determine whether this empire was an independent state or a mere Japanese colony, for the reports were conflicting: some claiming that it was an independent state and others that it was a mere colony. The Japanese propaganda machine tried to spread the former version while the Nationalist Chinese tried to spread the latter version. This confusion continued until the defeat of Japan when its propaganda machine was silenced and its true nature as an imperialist power was revealed to the whole world.

Japan coined the expression "Asia for the Asiatics" in order to pave the way for its own imperialism. Under this guise it occupied Korea, Formosa, Manchuria, China, Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Singapore, and the Philippines. Its pretext for invading China was that it was only preparing the way for uniting all Asia against European imperialism in order to liberate all Asian nations. But instead Japan assumed the role of the European imperialists in these countries. History repeats itself in China, for the same city which became the capital of the puppet regime of the Empire of China in 1938, became the capital city of the so-called People's Democratic Republic of China in 1949. Both names were the creatures of foreign imperialist powers, Japan and Russia.

The world will one day learn the truth about Russian imperialism which is disguised as communist ideology, and that day will come when the Red papers cease to cover up Russian treachery and deceit just as happened to Japan in the past.

CHINA PREPARES TO SURRENDER TURKESTAN TO THE COMMUNISTS

When East Turkestan gained its autonomy from Nationalist China, and a government was formed under Dr. Masoud Sabri assisted by the two leaders Mohammed Amin Baghra and Issa Yussef Alb Takin, Chiang Kai-Shek realized that they were no more mere tools of Chinese imperialism and that the new government was telling the people that Chinese imperialism should evacuate Turkestan and that the Russians should cease interfering in the internal affairs of Turkestan. Turkestan, they declared, is a nation which is separate from both China or Russia, neither of whom had the right of occupation or intervention. Chiang Kai-Shek then declared that the nationalist elements in East Turkestan were a greater threat to China than Chinese Communism. While his country was being beaten by the Red hammer, he devised a plan which, aged fool that he was, he thought would stop the aid received by the Communist gangs. It was a plan worthy of a criminal. While in the midst of fighting the Communists, he issued a decree, late in December 1948 replacing Dr. Mas'oud Sabri, President of the East Turkestan Government with a Tartar from Soviet Russia called Burhan Shahidi. This man had come from West Turkestan as a refugee in 1928, but in fact he participated in the plot leading to the assassination of the Chinese Governor General who had opposed Russian ambitions in East Turkestan. Shahidi had strong communist tendencies and was pro-Russian. As Deputy Governor, Chiang appointed Mohammed Amin Baghra who had opposed Chinese imperialism in 1932 but was pro-Russian in 1948. Chiang Kai-Shek hoped by this move to dissuade the Russians from interfering further in the affairs of East Turkestan and give them a motive to resist Chinese Communists' advance into East

Turkestan. As commander of the Chinese Nationalist forces in East Turkestan, Chiang appointed the pro-communist general Tao Tsi Po. Another Communist was appointed as secretary of the Governor General in place of the anti-imperialist Issa Yussef. This move was in effect a surrender of East Turkestan to Russia against the latter's non-interference in the Chinese conflict. But the Kremlin fox was not as stupid as this ass Chiang had thought. Mongolian troops and armaments were provided without interruption to the Chinese Communists, and on August 25, 1949 the Communist agents in East Turkestan -- Burhan Shahidi, Tao Tsi Po, and Liu Mo Win were ordered to declare East Turkestan a part of Communist China which they did on September 26, 1949. On October 13, 1949 Chinese Communist forces entered East Turkestan.

TURKESTAN UNDER THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

Faced with the surrender of East Turkestan to the Chinese Communists, the people were grieved and apprehensive of an uncertain future fraught with dangers.

With the occupation of East Turkestan by the Chinese Communists, the people realized that another period of Russian terror might be ushered in while memories of past terrors were much alive. Now with both the Chinese and Russian Communists in collusion the future looked very dim. The nationalist elements realized that one of two courses was open to them; either to submit without resistance and suffer a slow death by the Communists or die in defense of the motherland. The second course was chosen and a number of guerilla units were formed under the leaders Othman Batour and Hajj Ganem Khan. A group of leaders under Mohammed Amin Baghra and Issa Yussef left Turkestan on October 14, 1949 to inform the world of Chinese Communist aggression and seek aid in their struggle. They arrived at Ladakh in Kashmir on December 12, 1949 accompanied by 852 people from a total of 3159 people. The remaining 2,248 had died on the way either at the hands of the Chinese Communist forces or from hunger, cold or suffocation. Another 49 persons suffered permanent defects due to frost. Issa Yussef's daughter was among the dead. The trip took two months. The party had to cross difficult mountain terrain and five rivers. The snow-covered mountains ranged in altitude between 13,830 and 18,920 feet above sea level. The lack of oxygen at such high altitudes caused much suffering among them and their burden animals. Having suffered heavily in life and wealth, they were finally upon their arrival at Ladakh treated kindly by the government of Pandit Nehru. Military planes were sent to transport them from Ladakh to Srinagar, the capital city of Kashmir, where Shaykh Abdallah the Prime Minister of Kashmir, gave them sanctuary and treated them with kindness.

THE PEOPLE AGAINST CHINESE COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM

While those who had left were in a struggle against nature, a fierce battle was raging inside Turkestan between the people who owned the country but who had to take to the mountains of Barkol on the one hand and the intruders on the other. 20,000 nationalists, fired by hatred towards the merciless Chinese imperialists submitted to the leadership of the infinitely courageous hero General Othman Batour with determination to wage a guerilla war against the invaders until their holy country was rid of the Chinese who had already initiated a campaign of terror in East Turkestan. Fearful of this strong front, the Chinese imperialists sent a delegation to Barkol headed by the traitors Ahmad Taji and Nather Effendi to urge the rebels to cease attacking what they called the People's Government of China. The rebels were asked to send their leaders to Urumci in order to explain their demands to the Chinese authorities. Mistrustful of the Communists, the rebels decided that it would not be safe for their leaders to proceed to Urumci, and they sent instead two emissaries - Qana Tbay and Shan Murdar with the following national demands:

1. Freedom of thought and worship.
2. Desist from arresting anti-Communist nationals of Turkestan.
3. Desist expropriating private property.

When the Communist refused these demands, the nationalist forces formed an independent government on October 28, 1950, with Hajj Ganem Khan as head of government and Othman Batour as commander of the army of Turkestan.

The Chinese Communists decided on April 1, 1950 to attack the nationalist forces before they had time to organize themselves. A well-equipped force of 10,000 troops was engaged in battle by the nationalist forces, and the Communists suffered heavy losses in men and equipment. For three months, the nationalists repelled one Chinese attack after another, but finally the Chinese Communists threw into the battle an overwhelming force, amply supported by tanks, air power and armored cars. In a fierce battle, the nationalists were defeated and Ganem Khan was taken prisoner with a number of his own army. His execution on April 1, 1951 was announced by a radio broadcast from Urumci. Defeated, the nationalists decided to retreat into the Chinese province of Chinghai to gather their strength again. While retreating, they were intercepted by a force of 8,000 Chinese soldiers dispatched from the city of Ansi in Kansu Province. A bloody battle ensued which resulted in the defeat of the Chinese forces and the rebels continued their journey until they reached the city of Makhay in Chinghai Province on August 21, 1950, which they decided to use as

their stronghold. To defeat them, the Chinese government sent 3,000 cavalry troops from the city of Kiuchuan in Kansu and a very large force from Charkhlig on the Turkestan-Chinese border. They engaged the nationalists in a fierce battle, defeated them and captured Othman Batour with a part of his army. He was executed in front of 90,000 of his countrymen on April 29, 1951 as announced by Radio Urumci. Finding themselves surrounded on all sides and short of armaments, the remaining elements of the nationalist forces decided to leave Changhai and head towards Kashmir. Their trek started on March 1, 1951. They were ambushed by the Chinese forces stationed in Tibet and fought their way through several bloody battles at Sinkars, Kotsao and Winzai in which both sides suffered heavy losses especially in livestock and burden animals. Finally they reached the Kashmir borders on September 27, 1951. But while they were waiting for permission to enter Indian territory, they were attacked by the Chinese Communist forces whom they defeated but only after many lives and most of their livestock were lost. On October 10, 1957 the Indian government granted them permission to enter Ladakh. Of the 20,000 fighters that had started the revolt, only 300 arrived safely in Kashmir, and most of these were women or children whose husbands and fathers had given up their lives in defense of their country. The Indian government treated them well. They were transported by military planes to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, where they were welcomed by people and government. I would like to call the reader's attention here to the fact that this fierce struggle was not limited to those heroes in Barkol, but spread to many towns including Kuche and Ili, the latter of which had fallen under Russian influence in 1946. Official statements by Jo Yu Chen, Undersecretary of the Foreign Ministry, and by Chao Le Gen, Second Secretary of the Communist Party in Turkestan, are reproduced here to prove that the people of Turkestan struggled with all their might to evade falling under Chinese Communist imperialism. On January 4, 1951 Jo Yu Chen announced that the number of battles which the Chinese Army waged in 1950 to crush the guerilla war was 66 in the course of which 346 guns, 4 machine guns, 84 radios and loudspeakers were captured. A broadcasting station established in one of the cities of Turkestan was destroyed and 1,600 persons liberated from the grip of the rebels. Those executed in 1950 numbered 7,759 gangsters (rather nationalists engaged in guerilla warfare). Chao Le announced on April 28, 1951 that the number of prisoners taken during a period of 16 months was 13,569. I believe that these figures underestimate the actual number, but even assuming they were correct, it would mean that 847 people were captured each month and 646 killed. It is indeed strange to find nationalists who were fighting in self-defense described as barbarians or savages while the Russian and Chinese Communist gangsters were described as friends of the people and peacelovers. To

attach the stigma of savagery to those who killed a Chinese or Russian Communist and to praise as human and civilized those who killed thousands of nationalists is Communist logic. May God strike them down wherever they are.

A LETTER EXPOSING CHINESE COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM

In a letter which I have received from Turkestanian refugees in Saudi Arabia, the situation in East Turkestan and the true character of Chinese Communist imperialism are fully exposed. In view of the importance of these matters, the letter is here summarized. It was a sad event for the people of Turkestan when the democratic regimes in China and Russia fell to the Communists. Each of the two countries vied with the other in oppressing the people of Turkestan, in exerting the imperialist influence and in showing man's unkindness to man. They freely massacred people whose only guilt was to defend their dignity and adhere to their Islamic religion. In fact, practicing one's religion and believing in nationalism was considered a crime by the Communists. In this age of darkness, oppression and tyranny, Communist imperialism infiltrated East Turkestan in order to bend its people to its aims using any available means of oppression and terror and ignoring human dignity and moral values. But Turkestan resisted this tyranny and upheld its honor against the enemy whom it engaged in many a battle. Many heroes gave up their lives for freedom but Turkestan finally fell under Sino-Russian imperialism, grieved over its martyrs whose spirits filled the land crying mercy! mercy! But their pleas were not heeded, for the tyrants chose not to forgive. An iron curtain, red with the blood of martyrs, fell and engulfed the country and the crying of women and children was hushed. The people were turned into instruments in the hands of rulers who were claiming that they were free men advocating freedom and social justice for all nations and peace throughout the world -- mere lies to hide their own deception and crimes.

COMMUNIST TREACHERY

Chou En-lai, the man who stood up at the Bandung Conference to call for freedom and world peace, seemed to forget that China had colonized Tibet, Manchuria and Mongolia and was oppressing the 8 1/2 million people of East Turkestan. He also forgot that as the Premier of Communist China he represented the ugliest form of imperialism known to mankind. He also forgot that human dignity and moral values were ignored in Turkestan when he ordered that the severest punishment be dealt to a nation in order to break their will. Russia, China's master supported its stooges in their imperialist designs and applauded their false propaganda in an attempt to deceive the whole world. Today we find China loudly

advocating freedom and national sovereignty for all nations and peace for all mankind. But the whole world knows the truth about the Communists and despises the Russian and Chinese liars who believe that the world is ignorant of what is going on inside their countries. The world is fully aware of the crimes being committed by China and Russia in order to bury freedom. Look at Mongolia of which half is ruled by Russian imperialists and the other half by Chinese imperialists. It is being subjected to all forms of oppression. Likewise, the people of Turkestan have been enslaved and subjected to criminal oppression by both countries. This is the logic of Sino-Russian imperialism, sometimes deceiving people in the name of socialism and at other times in the name of peoples' democracy. But they are always looking for agents whom they could buy and for victims whom they could deceive by the promise of equality, freedom, and social justice. This is the veil which masks their true nature, savagery and barbaric tyranny such as were never known to mankind before. Chinese imperialism adopted these methods -- deceit and falsehood -- in order to attain its dirty objective which is to spread Communist dogma throughout the world, bring about the international Communist revolution and establish the universal Sino-Russian empire. To achieve these goals, the Communist imperialists advocate world peace and liberalism of colonies from foreign influence only to infiltrate the liberated countries themselves. They might come into a country wearing the garb of piety and with generous promises, but their real purpose is to plant agents and use force if necessary in order to overthrow the legitimate government and establish a Communist regime. Marx and Lenin advised: Let us use force and resort to deception whenever there are prospects of attaining our primary objective; namely, spreading communism throughout the world.

It was as a result of this policy of treachery, force and false propaganda that Turkestan, once a great country, lives today under Communist rule, an almost forgotten nation in the heart of Asia. This nation is suffering from the worst and most savage tyranny. The barbaric rule of the Communists which leaves no one free to enjoy the blessings of his freedom and which destroys individuals and societies. This was exactly what happened in Turkestan, divided by the imperialists into splinter groups and its identity wiped out from the map. They interfered in public and private affairs to sow dissention among members of the same nation in order to suppress their national identity and dissolve their unity.

A LETTER FROM TURKESTAN EXPOSING IMPERIALISM

This is a voice from behind the Iron Curtain revealing to the whole world the facts about Communist imperialism in East Turkestan. This is a letter written by an Afghani who had lived in East Turkestan over a considerable period and observed Chinese imperialism. He has suffered and lost hope in the kindness of man. He finally escaped from the so-called paradise under Chinese Communism to Kashmir, where he wrote this long letter expressing the feelings of millions of people in East Turkestan. The letter conveys a true description of the situation in Turkestan to the Turkestani refugees now living in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia so that through them the whole Moslem and free world will realize the true and ugly nature of Communist imperialism. They are hopeful that through them also this case will be taken up by the United Nations which would look into this serious matter and expose Communist aggression and tyranny against the Moslem people of Turkestan. After describing his escape from Turkestan, the author of this letter writes as follows: "The situation in East Turkestan is very bad. Government interference in public and private affairs has obliterated any distinction between public and private conduct. The country has been divided into six provinces each governed by a separate governor and a separate administrative committee all selected by the Communists. A communist government was established in East Turkestan in 1950 and inaugurated its rule by spreading terror in the hearts of people and adopting arbitrary and criminal measures in opposition to the welfare of the people. As always, the interests of the imperialists was in liquidating the nationalist elements by whichever methods were available. Their main line of aggression was to indoctrinate the youth in their poisonous doctrines so that the future will be ensured for Communism in this land. Their first step consisted of taking all the children under the pretext of educating them in public schools, whereas in fact their dirty objectives were to color the minds of innocent children with Communist dogma so as to make Communist agents out of them. Furthermore, dissention was sown in the ranks of the people until their whole life became one of fear and terror. Public officials encouraged the unemployed to petition in complaint against the landowners and wealthy groups claiming ownership of their property. They were told that ownership titles were not recognized by the Government since they had been issued by the Chiang Kai-Shek Government. Many landowners were thus expropriated. Others were liquidated by tyranny and torture. In 1951, the Government issued a decree ordering all women to lift the veil and imposing very severe penalties against violators. Some obeyed but others rebelled since they were not accustomed to such strange conditions which were so contrary to their Moslem religion. They were put in jail, tortured

and even executed to serve as an example for other women. The decree, at first mandatory, was made compulsory carrying the penalty of imprisonment or even death, after a fake trial. In the same year, the Government continued its dictatorial rule by adopting a plan for the reduction of wages over a period of two years. Agents were sent to the villages and countryside to conduct a survey of property and rental values. They visited every house and interviewed every landlord and tenant. They did reduce rents but the benefit was appropriated by the State. At the same time, taxes were tripled. A peasant who owned one feddan [Translator's note: A feddan is an Egyptian measure of area equivalent to 1.038 acres] of land would pay taxes in kind for three feddans. Payment in cereals such as rice, wheat or millet was required. A peasant who did not produce these items was required to purchase them at high prices, and if he failed to do so, he was subjected to all sorts of torture and ridicule. He was for instance made to look ridiculous to his fellow peasants by making him ride a donkey through the village streets while a gang of agents ridiculed him and made fun of him in public. The life of many people was thus destroyed because they could not bear such ridicule. In 1952 the Government prepared a program to organize commerce. Agents were sent out throughout the country to estimate the wealth of all merchants. Then agents were sent to all houses and shops on an inspection campaign. Any merchant underestimating his wealth was fined and the balance was confiscated. A progressive tax was imposed on the balance. During the same year a program was drawn up to organize real estate. No one escaped the injustices of these programs. The Communists who advocate the principle of equality and the classless society were themselves responsible for dividing the Turkestani people into five distinct classes. The first class consisting of the landowners were called the exploiters; their property was confiscated, they were tried and sentenced either to imprisonment or death and their children were impoverished and suffered from starvation and disease. The second class consisted of the wealthier individuals who were also subjected to tyranny. The authorities found satisfaction in torturing them using new methods of savagery. A horde of the unemployed and poverty-stricken were sent to their houses to abuse them and then to attack them in their homes and loot whatever they could lay their hands on. They were given prison sentences ranging between five and ten years. For them it was an unchanging life of misery, torture and ridicule in accordance with a prearranged plan of the Communist Government whose objective was to liquidate both of the above classes. The third class were called the middle class. They believed that they had escaped the persecution and torture that was meted out to their fellow countrymen; in fact, they were persecuted in a more subtle way in the form of excessive taxes. They were required also from time to time to provide the Government

at their own expense with labor for roads, bridges and other public works which forced some of them to surrender their properties to the Government to escape these levies. Often, the Government refused to receive their property which drove many to commit suicide. The fourth class were the small landowners who were neither tried nor tortured, but the government confiscated all their land which was in excess of one feddan per family. Even then they did not escape from heavy taxes. The fifth class were the landless and poor who had assisted the Government in confiscating the property of the wealthier classes. The Government in turn confiscated all the loot. In 1953 the Government announced a plan to construct bridges across the rivers Yurung Qash and Qara Qash in Khotan and to construct rest houses for Government officials. Contributions were collected from all classes by force and the people were forced to work without compensation. They had to carry stones on their backs from quarries at a distance of six miles from the site of construction. In the same year the Government confiscated half of all the livestock and buildings in Turkestan and progressive taxes were imposed on the rest. The merchants did not escape this tyranny. They were organized in one trading committee which was given control over their entire wealth. A president was appointed whose instructions were law. One of the first measures of the organization was to increase the taxes paid by its members. The real function of the organization was to gradually confiscate the wealth of the merchants which the government succeeded in doing. For the merchants, faced with exorbitant taxes, preferred to relinquish title to all property rather than submit to these taxes. In 1954, both the middle classes and the wealthier groups were subjected to persecution. Property was confiscated without justification or excuse and the government intensified its barbaric drive to expropriate by taxation as a step towards the establishment of communes along the lines of the cooperative farms in Communist Russia.

But the poor people of Turkestan could not bear all this and they finally rose in revolt. The uprisings started in the village of Qarasay in Khotan province under the leadership of a courageous man who expressed the feelings of millions of people. His name was Abdul Majid Damla [He was a follower of the leader Mohammed Amin Baghra]. This hero led over 20,000 rebels into the city, where he raised the banner of revolt against tyranny and injustice. Several bloody battles followed between the people and the rulers in which 2,000 from both sides were killed. The revolution spread to other villages and cities in Turkestan. But the uprising was soon crushed and fake trials were conducted, and 6,000 people were condemned to death. Over 10,000 people received life imprisonment at hard labor in the city of Khotan alone. The Government resorted to the dirtiest and most revolting methods of torture to force the

prisoners to give the names of their leaders and fellow rebels, but with no success. For the people had full faith in the justice of their cause and they refused to talk. Many hoped for death to save them from the barbarism of those Communists who were committing crimes in the name of freedom and justice.

In 1955 the Government decided to establish a commune in every village and city. It forced everyone to join these cooperatives to which all possessions had to be surrendered. The Government requested the low income groups to surrender to the cooperatives any property confiscated from the rich. The people were forced to join these cooperatives. Each cooperative had a president who was responsible for assigning work and fixing the hours of work for its members. A point system was devised by which the food rations were fixed. Everyone had to work: men, women, the aged and children, in order to make enough for the daily ration. Anyone who for any reason whatsoever did not work did not accumulate any points and was therefore left without food. Despite all these hardships, they were subjected to all forms of taxes which were imposed on every occasion, and this forced many to work twice as hard in order to pay their taxes while their health deteriorated.

From that date on women were given the right to divorce their husbands and the husbands were denied that right. The Moslem laws of inheritance were abolished and in their place the atheistic Communist laws were promulgated. In 1956 the Government drew up a two-year program to educate all classes in Communism. Religious teaching was abolished and the properties of mosques, religious institutions and private wags were confiscated and turned into Communist schools. Only one or two Moslem schools were left unmolested in each city in order to serve as propaganda objects for the Government. As a measure of Government interference in private life, it is sufficient to learn that no one may obtain a job in the Government unless he had spent a long period of study in Communist schools and proved his allegiance to the regime. In the city of Khotan alone, about 6,000 were graduated from Communist schools over a period of four years. These were ignorant of the most basic principles of their religion and they neither prayed nor fasted. So much for religious life. As for social life, free love was the norm. None of the high moral principles were observed even in regulating the relationship between man and woman which degenerated into a beastly state. Lacking any religious leadership by a Moslem judge or Iman, they failed to draw any line in their sexual relations between sister and wife or brother and husband having thus succumbed to a life of free love. As a sign of the degeneration of this Communist society, the daughters of the learned people were forced to marry scoundrels in order to humiliate their fathers. By mid 1956, the Government had in force a completely communistic society. All private freedoms had been abolished

including the freedom to choose one's profession which was chosen for him by his superiors. All properties had been confiscated. An individual had to submit unconditionally to his superiors who fixed his place and hours of work, determined his remuneration by granting him points or denying him points if he was late or if he failed to work for any reason whatsoever. This meant that he was denied food at the whim of his superiors. In the factories and on the farms, all were assigned the same type of work: men, women, children and the aged without regard to their natural weaknesses. Some thinkers called for diversification to take account of the position of women in a Moslem society unaccustomed to mingling of men and women. But they were accused of disloyalty to the principles of the revolution, brought to trial and sentenced to imprisonment or death. Such injustice whereby all forms and any shade of freedom were denied was unheard of. No one could express an opinion any more or defend his life, his views, his dignity or his family. Any opposition was punished with the threat of unemployment and starvation. This is the situation in East Turkestan under Communism today. It is a country full of misery, injustice and tyranny. The Communists are in control of all resources and of all individuals, their conscience and their minds. Agents and spies fill the land and are in every house. This hell which they have created is pictured to the world outside by their misleading propaganda as a paradise. They send their spies even to the Holy places in the garb of pilgrims to perform the pilgrimage rites, but their true mission is to spread false lies in order to misguide world public opinion and to convince the Turkestani refugees living outside, and especially in Saudi Arabia, to return to Turkestan. When they failed in this mission, they obtained their addresses and the Communist Government forced their relatives to write to them urging them to return to their homeland. They were told that Turkestan had become the promised paradise, the land of plenty, happiness and freedom under the Communists. The truth of the matter is, however, that it is the Communists who live in prosperity and happiness while the people live under misery, slavery, persecution and injustice, dispossessed of even their daily ration. Those pilgrims are mere spies and Communist agents disguised in holy garb to cover up their criminal designs. The Communists cannot be trusted and their words are all lies. Anyone returning to Turkestan cannot lead a normal life because he has to work all day just to obtain enough food for a subsistence living. He cannot utter a single word against the Government because he is observed and watched at all times and his moves are reported to the authorities. This is life in Turkestan imposed by the Communists by blood, fire and iron. It is a life of misery, catastrophes, and barbaric injustice repeated every day. The country has been transformed into an intolerable inferno from which no one can escape the Communist grip. Indeed, it would be exceedingly

difficult to describe all the horrors perpetrated against the people of Turkestan. Finally, I pray to God to rescue the people of Turkestan and humanity from the tyranny of Sino-Russian imperialism and from Communist slavery."

Best regards and may God bless you."

The contents of this letter need no explanation. Such atrocities have become a familiar aspect of every Communist Society. The author is an Afghani national who had lived a long period in East Turkestan and observed its misery and suffering first hand. He finally succeeded in fleeing this Communist inferno, and we therefore refrain from giving his name. [Note: The letter was translated into Arabic by Mr. Kublay Akhon.]

THE SECRET SINO-RUSSIAN TREATY

On March 27, 1950 a secret treaty was signed in Moscow between Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung. The provisions of the treaty could be inferred from the troop concentrations which Russia undertook in 1950. By granting Russia a number of concessions, this treaty was considered more dangerous and generous than the one dictated to Chen Tsi-Tsai in 1940. We have arrived at this conclusion from the following evidence:

Russian influence infiltrated the whole machinery of government and thousands of Communists of many nationalities were brought over as economists, military experts, engineers, teachers and doctors. This was done under the pretext of assisting Communist China in managing its affairs whereas in fact they were serving the interests of Russia and acting as a network of spies keeping the Russian Government informed of the activities of the Chinese Communists. The Russians were directing the policies of the country by supervising the activities of these experts. The top man in East Turkestan was the Russian Consul Paminov in Urumci whose power over public affairs was absolute. The Chinese Governor General in East Turkestan, in fact, could not issue any order without first obtaining the approval of the Russian consul. It was also conceded to the Russians that they control all transportation and communications in East Turkestan in order to make possible the invasion of neighboring countries and to prevent the invasion of Russia via East Turkestan in case of war. These considerations made Russia station its 9th Division and its 7th, 11th and 40th columns in East Turkestan, a force of over 23,000 well-equipped troops. They were stationed in the three provinces of Ili, Chouchak and Altay. Another force was stationed in the line extending between Urumci and Kuche and a third force in the line extending between Urumci and Hsinghsinghsia on the Chinese borders. Not satisfied with these garrisons, the Russians increased the strength of their troops in the three provinces of Ili, Chouchak and Altay which

had been under their influence since 1946 to 30,000 strong. This became the Fifth Army and were put under the command of General Laskin, a Russian. They were stationed on the borders with India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Later, the Chinese Communist Government was convinced to transfer 25,000 troops to the Korean front and these were replaced by an equal force of Russian troops.

RUSSIAN MILITARY PREPARATIONS IN EAST TURKESTAN

The province of Ili enjoys many advantages. It is rich in important mineral resources including coal and it is situated in a very strategic and defensible position thanks to its high rugged mountains. It is adjacent to the Uranium rich Altay province and is not accessible to enemy bombers. Russia exploited these advantages by establishing an atomic center in it and a number of factories for producing heavy and light weapons. They also, according to a broadcast from Urumci dated October 30, 1951, began to build an industrial city in it. About 3,000 houses have been built so far. This was probably a completion of the aircraft industrial center established by the Russians near Urumci during the German invasion. While in occupation of East Turkestan between 1933 and 1943, the Russians built 13 airports in the following cities:

Qomul on the Chinese borders, Urumci, Wensuh, Khotan, Shar Shenby, Khuldja, Karashar, Koshar, Agsu, Maralbashi, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khojen. In 1950 many improvements were introduced into these airports which were expanded and new airports were built in Kashgar and Khuldja. In Khuldja underground hangars for military aircraft were built and a number of airports were provided with radar stations. A highway connecting East Turkestan with West Turkestan was built and construction on another highway connecting Lhasa in Tibet with East Turkestan was begun. This would give the Russians great strategic advantage should they decide to invade the neighboring countries. A railway, known as Turk Seb, was completed connecting East Turkestan to Siberia and joining with the railway which extends from Moscow to Siberia. The railway was also extended from East Turkestan to the Chinese city of Changyeh in Kansu province thus connecting East Turkestan with the Chinese cities on the Pacific Coast. With this railway, the Russians thus joined the Black Sea and the Pacific Ocean. The purpose behind this railway is to help in the invasion of Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malaya, India, Indonesia and Australia when the opportunity arose, even if Vladivostok, North Korea and the cities of North East China fell to the Western Powers. It was thus an alternative route of invasion.

To complete this gigantic program, the Russians employed a force of 300,000 Turkestanis working 24 hours a day under the supervision of Russian engineers. They were neither paid for their labor nor were they treated if they succumbed to disease. In 1952, both Russia and China introduced compulsory military service for all individuals between the ages of 18 and 45, and military training for all students. A radio broadcast from Urumci announced that a number of students from many schools and universities had volunteered for service in the army in order to fight in the Korean battlefields. A large number were actually sent to the North Korean front just as Russia had used the people of West Turkestan during the second World War. The Turkestanian refugees who arrived in Kashmir early in 1953 estimated that about 250,000 Russian and Chinese soldiers were then stationed in East Turkestan. After having expropriated the people, the Chinese authorities forced the people to support this huge army by giving up a portion of their meager daily rations. Anyone withholding his contribution was accused as an enemy of the regime and given the severest punishment. The people were driven from their homes to accommodate the soldiers, and mosques and religious schools were converted into army barracks. Those soldiers who were devoid of any human values and good conduct, began to loot and commit rape against women and minors in front of their husbands and fathers who dared not object, for their punishment was death. The Russian and Chinese Communists exploited the agricultural wealth by taxing away 75 percent of all produce. The entire mineral wealth of the country was also expropriated, including the rich resources of petroleum and other minerals. In short, the Russian and Chinese Communists regarded East Turkestan as a rich cow whose milk was denied to its owners.

This picture of unhappy East Turkestan summarizes the misery of the country under the Communists and at the same time describes Russia the so-called protector of small nations and guardian of peace movements.

"The Chinese Communists claim that religion is an invention of the Arabs and the Romans. Having established their rule in East Turkestan, suppressed the secret resistance movements, driven thousands of nationals and men of religion to the gallows, and thrown hundreds of thousands in prisons and concentration camps, the Chinese Communists turned their energies towards fighting religion and good morality. To poison the minds of the youth, they formed an anti-religion league in every village or city quarter whose main object was to spread atheism and hatred of religion through propaganda pamphlets and indoctrination of the youth. Their principle was that religion was a tool invented by the Arabs and Romans to serve their imperialist ambitions and that the high standard achieved by Communism is enjoyed only by those who have liberated themselves from religious dogma and fanaticism."

METHODS OF PERSECUTION

Having done all this, they devised a new method for torturing people, a method of slow death. They formed concentration camps in the desert to which they sent all those condemned to death to work 14 hours a day digging canals, maintaining roads and lifting rocks under the whips of their supervisors. Those who succumbed to disease were left to die. The largest camp was that of Shawan which is located at about 150 kilometers from Urumci. To this camp was sent all the political prisoners. The groaning of misery and the sound of execution was to be heard every night. In one instance the Communist barbarians amputated the leg of one of the prisoners because he wrote in his diary: Oh God! Save me from this pain of hearing my fellow men suffer from this torture and from the hard labor in this severe cold.

This is a mere summary of the horrors and atrocities perpetrated against the Moslem people of East Turkestan at the hands of the Communists. The whole nation is in danger of extinction.

CAUSES OF SINO-RUSSIAN DIFFERENCES

It may be concluded from the foregoing that there were predetermined Russian objectives which called for the invitation to Moscow of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai in 1950. Russia wanted to strengthen its hold over East Turkestan by a treaty signed with China. Some provisions of the treaty relating to East Turkestan were made public:

1. A trade agreement creating a Sino-Russian monopoly in East Turkestan;
2. A petroleum exploration and mining company;
3. A mineral exploration and mining company;
4. A railway construction company;
5. A civil airline company with routes between Turkestan and the Soviet Union.

It is evident from these agreements that Russia was aiming at keeping East Turkestan under Chinese Communist rule only formally whereas in fact it would be under actual Russian control until it could be annexed to Russia officially. This is confirmed by the fact that no Chinese may emigrate to East Turkestan without first obtaining an official Russian permit. It is reported that a heated argument took place between the representatives of both countries over this subject. We do not know whether the secret agreement covered the subject of Chinese emigration to East Turkestan or not. Between 1950-1954, there is evidence that any Chinese who wanted to visit East Turkestan had first to obtain a

Russian permit. But China has since 1952 laid out a long range plan whose aim was to eliminate Russian influence from the country. The plan had two aspects. The first, a secret drive which may be summarized as follows:

(a) In 1952 China declared that the revolt in Turkestan having been crushed with the help of the Red Army and order restored throughout the land, it was withdrawing a part of its troops into China signifying the absence of any justification for the presence of troops. The Russian Army was greatly praised for its indispensable services in suppressing the revolt. Russia in turn realized that a reduction of its forces in Turkestan was called for if it wanted to avoid incurring the wrath of China. Most of the Russian troops were withdrawn in 1954, and China forthwith disarmed the Turkestani Army created and led by Russian officers.

(b) China dealt a fatal blow to the Soviet economy in East Turkestan by flooding the market with cheap products with which the Russians could not compete.

(c) In 1954, Chinese emigrants were sent to Turkestan under the pretext that they were the families of Chinese soldiers stationed there. Thus according to official records 300,000 Chinese emigrants were sent to Turkestan.

(d) While participating in the joint agricultural development programs of the Communist countries, China announced that East Turkestan was a large and fertile land in need of manpower and then sent some 100,000 young Chinese to the country.

The second method was an open policy consisting of:

(a) Free emigration of Chinese to East Turkestan and the rehabilitation of all Chinese who had come to East Turkestan temporarily. This policy was announced in 1954.

(b) An army of 500,000 troops was formed from the Chinese population living in East Turkestan.

(c) In 1955, China requested termination by mutual agreement of the pact ratified in Moscow in 1951. The Soviet Government concurred for fear that denying the Chinese request might trigger revolts similar to those that were taking place in Poland, Hungary and East Germany. All concessions were given up except the concession to explore and mine uranium which the Russians needed for the atomic centers which were hidden in the deserts of East Turkestan. The concessions over trade, petroleum, and railway construction were all relinquished.

(d) China deported from East Turkestan all those carrying Soviet passports irrespective of whether they were Russian or Turkestani by origin. Their total number was estimated at 10,000. Five consulates were closed down thus ridding the country of a Russian fifth column. The people of Turkestan realized that Communist China was following the same policy towards their country

as did Nationalist China before towards what they called Sinkiang. They rose in revolt against the Chinese rebels in 1957 whose sole objective was to open the door of Chinese immigration and thus take possession of the country's wealth. The revolution, it is believed, was fed by the Soviet Union which is seeking revenge against the Chinese for deporting Russians and abrogating the 1950 treaty. This is clear evidence that the jealousies which are fed by imperialist ambitions have been revived. The logic of history convinces us that East Turkestan will again be saved from Communist imperialism whether in its Chinese or Russian versions.

It is worthwhile reproducing here some news items published in the press concerning the continuing struggle of the people of East Turkestan. The Pakistani daily Tistim published in one of its February 1959 issues a statement of the Turkestani rebels expressing their determination to establish an independent state to be known as the Republic of East Turkestan. They called on all nationalists who were gathered at the congress held at Urumci, the capital city of East Turkestan, to demand full independence of East Turkestan from the Chinese Communist Government and to threaten the Communists with a bloody revolt if independence was not granted. The Sinkiang daily which is published in Urumci reported in its March 10 and 11, 1959 issues that 378 persons who were members of the political advisory council of the Province and members of the Moslem League were arrested and banished to forced labor camps because they opposed the Communist system by demanding the creation of an independent republic. It is worth noting in this regard that the radio broadcasts from Tashkent in the Soviet Union contained comments which expressed feelings of friendship towards the people of East Turkestan.

This is evidence of the continuing conflict between Russian and Chinese imperialism.

Contrary to its previous policies, the government of Communist China has not allowed a single visitor into East Turkestan over the last two years. Radio Peking also continues to spread denunciation of the nationalists in Turkestan all of which seems to indicate that the situation in East Turkestan is not exactly as the Chinese would like it to be. In the Pakistani Daily News of September 25, 1959 it was reported that the Chinese forces have claimed a great victory over the rebels in East Turkestan but neither place nor date were given for this victory, which indicates that the rebellion worries the Chinese authorities to an extent that they have to febricate lies. They have in fact been fabricating such lies since 1957.

CHIANG KAI SHEK DREAMS OF RECONQUERING EAST TURKESTAN

When Nationalist Chinese rule over East Turkestan was ended by the surrender of their forces to the Chinese Communist Army, a new era of Communist imperialism began in Turkestan and all relations with Nationalist China were severed. A new page in Communist aggression was opened which filled the country with terror. Although Communist propaganda abroad was advocating freedom, equality and protection of the weaker nations, their actions inside were exactly the opposite. Their army was in occupation of the main resources of the country, and they enslaved the people to satisfy their greed and aims. Private property was confiscated to support agents in luxury so that they will tell the world that this inferno is a paradise on earth.

We have temporarily forgotten the crimes committed by Nationalist China against us because we were engaged in a struggle against the new imperialism. But we were surprised to hear that the Chiang Kai-Shek gang have appointed one of their own members in Formosa as Governor of East Turkestan. We tried to convince the Chiang Kai-Shek gang that this step serves neither their own interests nor ours. Half a million refugees who had left East Turkestan protested this measure, but the Nationalist Government refused to heed their pleas.

The man appointed by Chiang Kai-shek as Governor General of Turkestan is the traitor General Bolbas who to most Turkestanis is the epitome of treason just as the Gellawi Pasha symbolized treason for all Moroccans. But whereas Gellani Pasha repented and begged forgiveness of the symbol of Moroccan nationalism, King Mohammed V, this traitor Bolbas has persisted in his loyalty to his master, the imperialist Chiang Kai-shek.

In August 1954, the Turkestanian refugees sent their representatives Mohammed Amin Baghra and Issa Yussef to Formosa to attempt convincing the Government of Nationalist China to give up any designs or claims over East Turkestan and to renounce any intention to interfere in its internal affairs in the future. They were told that since Nationalist China considered Turkestan an integral part of China, Turkestan had no claim to independence.

[A photograph with the caption: The Traitor General Bolbas.]

This is amply proved by the official documents which we have been able to obtain. In a letter sent by the Ambassador of Nationalist China in Saudi Arabia to Mr. Abdul Ahad Hamed, resident of Riyadh and one of the Turkestanian Freedom Fighters who was at one time the mufti of his city, in answer to the latter's request concerning granting facilities for the travel of Turkestanis living

outside China, the following was written in reply. It will be noted that Mr. Hamed had used the correct expression East Turkestan in his letter.

Embassy of the Republic of China

Dear Brother,

With all due respect to your previous position in the Government of Sinkiang and to the confidence placed in you by His Excellency the President of the Republic of China, I hope that you will refrain from using expressions which should not be used by one who occupied the position of a mufti. We are all serving our beloved country trying to do our best for our countrymen. I also hope that you will refrain from using the expression "The Turkestani Nation" which was the creation of one Abdul Qayyum Khan while he was living in Germany. We are working for the welfare of the true people of Sinkiang not for the Turkestanis living outside Sinkiang or the followers of Abdul Qayyum Khen.

Best regards,

Ambassador of Nationalist China
in Saudi Arabia

The gist of the letter is that Nationalist China does not recognize even the basic elements of Turkestani nationalism and that imperialism denies us the right even to call our country by its correct name instead of the word Sinkiang (meaning New Land) which was coined after the Chinese occupation of 1881. This contradicts one of the most basic principles of human conduct which recognizes the inherent right of people to live in freedom. The ambassador is saying that if we wanted to live in our own country, East Turkestan, we must renounce our national identity and become Chinese. Otherwise our fate would be exile. As for Abdul Qayyum Khan, whose name was mentioned in the letter, he was an average Turkestani who aspired to see his whole country liberated from imperialism and united by factors of geography, language, race, religion and nationhood.

There are yet stranger things to come. Some responsible officials in the Government of Nationalist China claim that if the Turkestani nationalists stopped their campaign against Nationalist China abroad they will be granted their independence as soon as Communist China is defeated and the Nationalist Government returned to power on the mainland. But how can we believe these promises. We are Moslems and we have been taught that a Moslem does not fall in the same trap twice. Their leader Chiang Kai-shek had between 1937 and 1942 promised the people of Turkestan their independence more than once while he was engaged in mortal combat against Japan, but instead of keeping his promises he unleashed his forces to crush and massacre the people of Turkestan.

We cannot forget this, nor can we forget that the position of Nationalist China regarding our independence is rather quixotic, for Nationalist China itself is in existence thanks to the American Seventh Fleet and would have long disappeared but for American protection. That this Nationalist China wants to invade the Mainland is a matter for the people of China themselves to settle, but it is ridiculous that Chiang Kai-shek should also call for the occupation of East Turkestan after he himself handed Chou-En-lai the means to complete his criminal plan of annihilating the people of Turkestan who were fighting for their independence.

The day-dreaming of Chiang Kai-shek is unrestrained. He not only wants to reoccupy East Turkestan; he even dreams of conquering Mongolia and Tibet. When the Tibetans rebelled against Communist China, it was expected that Chiang Kai-shek would at least for the sake of self-consistency support the revolution. Instead, the Parliament of Nationalist China met to declare that Tibet was an integral part of China and that it should be saved from the Communists, a very strange action indeed.

It is common knowledge that great distance separates Turkestan from Formosa, the headquarters of the Government of Nationalist China, and yet Chiang Kai-shek has the audacity to claim that Turkestan is an integral part of China. This can only mean that when Chiang Kai-shek finds the power and is freed from the Communist threat, he would invade Turkestan again. These are the ambitions of Chiang Kai-shek and his gang. But let us assure him that the past shall never return and that Turkestan shall be the graveyard for him and his army and for everyone who wants to enslave its people. The people of Turkestan are determined never to submit to the imperialists irrespective of where they come from. In spite of Russian and Chinese occupation the people live today in the hope of achieving independence and victory over Russia, Communist China and Nationalist China.

While we affirm our faith in the future, we call on all nations and especially the Moslem nations which exchange diplomatic representatives with Nationalist China, to convince the latter to give up the idea of dominating East Turkestan and claiming it as an integral part of China. We must realize that what we are demanding -- independence and freedom -- are exactly the same things that Nationalist China wants for itself; namely the independence of China and its liberation from Russia and international Communism.

The reader may ask: But what advantages are there in recognition of East Turkestan by Nationalist China at this juncture? The answer is that there are at present some half million refugees from East Turkestan living in Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia. These people who have left their property behind in Turkestan, carry Nationalist China passports but their legal government refuses to help them and no international agency including UNRRA have come to their aid.

Recognition of East Turkestan by Nationalist China would mean that a new Government of East Turkestan can be formed in Exile, similar to the Government of Algeria. This would also mean that all countries which recognize Nationalist China would recognize this Government including the Moslem nations. Since Nationalist China is a permanent member of the Security Council, this will give East Turkestan a favorable international status and thus raise the morale of the people who are fighting for their independence. They will answer the call to the jihad [Trans. Note: Meaning religious struggle] whenever they are called upon to tear the Communists to pieces.

CHINESE MOSLEMS FIGHT COMMUNISM

Should the reader be led to believe after reading this book that the atrocities described happened in East Turkestan only since it was a Chinese colony, he would be mistaken. The same crimes and tyranny were committed in other parts of China and especially in those parts where the Moslems live in large numbers. This is due to their adherence to Islam and their defense of the homeland against Communist aggression. It is estimated that 350,000 Communist soldiers were killed in one battle between the two camps.

FORTY MILLION MOSLEMS ARE LIQUIDATED

This might at first strike you as an exaggeration or a lie, but it is the truth against which every Moslem revolts seeking a means to lift the injustice off his fellow Moslems. It is a systematic annihilation campaign by the Communist atheists who are deprived of any feeling of kindness or mercy. But the world will eventually discover the tragedy of the 40 million Moslems who were secretly liquidated. For when the Communists gained control, they initiated a purge of all the opposition and of all elements who might oppose them in the future. One of their first measures was to break up Moslem influence through a campaign of terror and intimidation of unimaginable savagery. They were thus able to liquidate Islam as a religion and reduce Moslems to the status of willing tools in the hands of the atheist Communists. The Moslem population of China was known to everyone to be in the order of 50 million. The Egyptian press mentioned this figure when they said that recognition of Communist China establishes contact with 50 million Moslems. But after this massacre, the Moslem population was reduced to 10 million according to a pamphlet issued by the Islamic Society of Peking: "Religious Life of the Chinese Moslems" which was widely distributed in the Moslem world. It read as follows:

"Over a thousand years have passed since Islam came to China. The number of Moslems in China today is estimated at about 10 million divided into 10 national groups . . . etc." But how is it possible for the number of Moslems to fall during a period of revival in Islam except by intimidation which forced many Moslems to renounce their religion or to declare that they were Communists in order to escape persecution. Those who declared that they were Moslems still reached 10 million, which inspired our concern over their security and over the future of Islam under the Communists.

In spite of all this the Chinese Communist Government of Peking advocates justice and equality. It sends its agents disguised as pilgrims to divert world public opinion from its barbaric acts and to misguide it with its false propaganda and lies. But it must first give a satisfactory answer concerning the position of the Moslems in China.

To those who are seeking a better life; to the tormented souls; to the innocent hearts full of life, justice and mercy; to everyone whose heart beats with mercy and love; to every society aspiring towards the ideal; to every nation aspiring to live in dignity; to all great powers that support the weak and resist the strong; to all we submit this record of misery and crimes committed in East Turkestan in the name of freedom.

[Photograph with the caption: Under the People's Republic and Chinese Communist Rule, a Communist Soldier executes an Innocent Peasant at Work.]

[Photograph carrying the caption: All that Communists have gained from their faith in Communism is that they were transformed into beasts destroying everything after they had been human beings filled with mercy. This photograph reveals their true nature as they watch their innocent victims with disdain after having executed them at their farms.]

We place these facts in the hands of all people in order to move them into a feeling of common humanity.

APPEAL BY MR. NOUR MOHAMMED KHAN TO THE PEOPLE OF TURKESTAN

My brethren the people of Turkestan. My fellow fighters of Turkestan who are starved in their rich country, humiliated in the country of heroes. Oh heroes in a land of traitors, lions in a Communist cage. My fellow Moslems who are oppressed in their religion.

Suffering strengthens our determination and will and oppression feeds the eruption to come. Our determination to achieve dignity, freedom and honor is renewed by oppression, tragedies and torture. Many a nation gained in will and determination by suffering and many a small nation triumphed over the many with the help of God. Have patience, for God is on your side, victory will be yours and freedom shall be regained.

THE COUNTRY OF IMAN AL-BUKHARI ITS PAST AND PRESENT

[Following is a translation of a pamphlet Bilad Al-Iman Al-Bukhari Madiha Wa Hadiriha, by Mr. Mohammed Aziz Ismail, graduate of the University of al-Azhar. This pamphlet was published as Part I, in 1960 (1380 Hejira) in Tehran, Iran.]

TURKESTAN AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH ISLAM AND THE ARABS

Turkestan, country of the great Khagans, of philosophers, theologians and story writers [Note: See page 11 of the book True Story of Moslems under Sino-Chinese Rule distributed by Al Nahda Library, Adly Street, Cairo and Al Khanji Library, Abdul Aziz Street and al Mo'ayyed Library, al Qala' Street]. They all served Islam in war and peace and their deeds have been described in poetry by the learned Shaykh Abdul Aziz Ashour, graduate of Al Azhar University and instructor at the University of Cairo. He describes how the army of Turkestan came to the rescue of Baghdad when the Abbasid Caliph appealed for help against the Al Bweyh who had occupied Baghdad and imprisoned its ruler. The Moslem countries were then divided into the Shii' Fatimid Camp of North Africa and Egypt in the west and the Al Bweyh Camp in Iran and Iraq in the East. Backed by the Christian nations, the Byzantine Empire was preparing to advance against the Moslem nations to suppress the Moslem religion. The heroes of Turkestan known as the Seljuks then came to reform the Moslem countries and defeat the Crusaders. The following is a poem by the late Abdul Aziz Ashour (Executed by the Chinese in 1959) describing these events. [Trans. Note: The following is a free translation of this poem]:

Greetings to the land of greatness, the country dear to my heart. I cherish your memories which fill my spirit with light. The land of Turkestan is a paradise to which I hope to return. Its learned men have placed its name high in glory. Abu Hanifa placed among them was a torch guiding the human mind. And Bukhary the judge was a sound intellect. It is as both Baghdad and Spain take pride in Turkestan. The Arabic language lives and prospers in it. And the theology writings carry enlightenment into the far corners of the world. It is a rich land of metals and trees where spring extends well over the year. The beautiful scenery extends from the foot of the Pamir Mountains to Kashgar. Its light descends on Tien Shan to Jonghar. It is a great and high mountain representing the greatness, pride and dignity of the country, as if it were a leader surrounded by the forests and the trees. A snow covered mountain as if topped by a crown of diamonds. Those were days

when I used to roam in the land like the breeze of the early morn, free and without worry. It was a land, united in blood and creed under the banner of the Quran and the sword. They accepted the religion of the Prophet and defended it by the sword, and had they lived at the time of the Prophet they would have been among his foremost supporters. The Almighty has bestowed on them happiness and greatness and may He preserve them in prosperity.

Turkestan is the land of the Prophet, of al-Najjar, al-Tarmathi and the prince of the learned men Al Bukhary. The theology of Abu-Hanifa guides our path like a torch. They ascended with the Arabic language with Sa'ad, Jurgani, Soli, and Jarallah. You find among them Avicenna, the philosopher, the astronomer, the physicist, the engineer and the man of letters. They aid the poor and protect the orphan. History is their witness. Their kings were like the stars. Mahmoud al-Amin, Mahmoud Karim and Berbashah ascended to a great pinnacle of greatness and their descendants ruled India. The Seljuks under Alb Arslan faced an overwhelming enemy and defeated him at Wan in Anatolia with the help of the Almighty. In battle they were the best soldiers. They defeated the Romans and captured their emperor, Romanos. They defeated the Crusaders and protected Islam and returned those infidels empty-handed. But for them Islam would have been defeated and the Caliphate crushed. They ruled with justice, preserved languages and developed culture.

It is a country which I love. A rich land full of gardens of fruits, of figs, grapes, apples, pomegranates, etc. Its minerals are many from Aksu to Nomenjan. Their towering mountains look as if they were built by Solomon. It is a country which reared heroes for Islam and learned men for the world.

It is a country of the brave who have often risen to defend their liberties and dignity. In their independence they were faithful to their religion until the Russian armies deluged them with catastrophe. A plague emanating from Russia, destroying the houses of God and spreading hatred and atheism. Injustice was visited upon us, but we accepted death rather than submit to atheism. Thousands of Moslem martyrs sacrificed themselves in the cause of God and thousands of others migrated to the Arab lands where we found new brothers and friends who welcomed us. Greetings and our gratitude to the Arabs whose friendship shall live and prosper in our lands whenever we are free again. We shall build the glory of Islam on unity and the Qu'ra'n and may the greatness of your nation be restored as it was in the past.